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لَا تُبْطَلُوا صَدَقَاتِكُمْ

THE RIGHT RIGHTEOUSNESS

It is intriguing to observe how parallel ambiguities arise quite independently in different languages. The English word for 'charity' and the Hebrew word for righteousness are obvious examples. There is a 'charity' far removed from all the meanings of its classic definition in 1. Corinthians xiii, which neither bears nor believes all things but perfunctorily discharges a token gift while it repudiates all its real obligations. Thus 'charity' itself becomes in effect a negation of 'charity'. Similarly, in the Hebrew word for righteousness, almsgiving came to take over almost the entire significance; and thus, the duty of alms came almost to monopolise the Jewish concept of practical righteousness.

There is a not dissimilar situation in the Quranic sense of *Ṣadaqāt*. The word is used in certain places almost as a synonym for *Zakāt*, the difference usually being said to lie in the fact that while the latter is obligatory, the former is supererogatory. *Ṣadaqāt*, originally, has obvious and close affinities with truth and right-dealing in general. Since alms, as in the Hebrew tradition, had a conspicuous place in such rightness of dealing, the idea of 'charity' came almost to replace, and then in turn to displace, the original intention of the word.

It is just this danger that the warning of Surah ii. 266 has in mind when it exhorts: "Do not render your righteousnesses vain by upbraiding or wrong," implying that reminding people of benefits received, or exploiting to one's own ends their position of dependence, corrupts and disqualifies the inner worth of the gifts bestowed. Here we are confronted as it were with a warning against the unselfishness which is only apparent, against the charity that is uncharitable, against the 'generosity' that seeks its own even in giving its own. The

same thought seems to underlie the deliberate antithesis made in Surah ii. 277 between usury and *Ṣadaqāt*. The former it is said God will abolish, and the latter He will cause to grow and flourish. For usury, by definition, is precisely that which repudiates the social responsibilities of property and asserts a pitiless self-interest as the only principle of possession.

These considerations bring us into the midst of a deep moral problem hidden away in the very etymology of the root from which *Ṣadaqāt* derives. It is, in essence, the problem of the right righteousness, or of right-being in the midst of right-doing. Or seen in another way it is the issue of the integrity of right action, lest it be devalidated from within like a distant and heartless 'charity' that, behind a facade of deed, is derelict of all compassion. The right-doing so easily becomes a substitute for the right-being. Taken at its worst and most depraved, this becomes a brazen externality which even boasts its own hollowness. We remember the Friar's excuse in Chaucer's *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*:

"For many a man so hard is of his heart
He may not weep although him sorely smart:
Therefore, instead of weeping and prayers,
Men might give silver to the poore friars."

Such compromises are no worse for being more blatant and less subtle. They are the caricature that arrests our attention and measures the potential of hypocrisy.

But returning to its more sophisticated forms and to the root ideas within *Ṣadaqāt* as a term, we find Quranic reminders of the close connection between dogma and deed, between *ṣaddaqa*, which is 'to accept the rightness of' — 'to recognise the truth', and *taṣaddaqa* which is 'to behave in conformity with the truth so recognised', 'to do right by men in the light of what is right for them'. So we find Joseph's brethren beseeching him (Surah xii. 88) to be charitable towards them, تَصَدَّقْ عَلَيْنَا, while Surah ii. 281 declares that it is better to forego a debt than to exact it — a view that is reiterated in Surah v. 49, where non-exaction of the *lex talionis*

is said to be expiatory of sins. Underneath these passages is the thought that there is an appropriateness to the truth believed in such action, that to 'credit' or believe the revelation is to be called to a quality of moral behaviour that its tantamount with it. This would seem to be something of the grammatical progression between the 2nd form of the verb, with the sense of valid truth recognised, and the 5th form with its implication of the valid practice followed.

This appears to be corroborated by the directive of Surah ix. 104: "Take alms of their wealth so that thou mayest cleanse and purify them thereby" with the contrasted wrong use of wealth reproached in Surah ii. 190 where selfishness and bribery pervert souls and corrupt possessions. Perhaps there is an aspect of the same connotation in Surah lviii. 13 requiring *Ṣadaqāt* prior to an interview with the Prophet. Unless it be that such payment was meant to indicate allegiance (and so was a pre-requisite), it may perhaps be held to suggest something at least of this general association between acknowledging (and consulting) the prophetic status, as a place of truth, and allowing the practical demands of such recognition in material things and in that most sensitive index to a man's convictions, namely his pocket.

But throughout, there is the danger that such evidences of right-doing, based on a proper believing, can be externalised and perfunctory, with all moral heart lost and gone from them. Thus Surah ii. 265 insists that kindly words and a forgiving spirit are better than alms followed by injury: while Surah iv. 115 makes the same link between *Ṣadaqah* and large-heartedness and reconciliation. In that sense, *Ṣadaqāt* may be seen as the token of a social conscience in the individual and a social righteousness in society at large, so that *Ṣadaqāt* find their ugly antithesis in the grasping, callous tightfistedness of the usurer. All this lies behind the warning of Surah ii. 266 which stands at the head of these paragraphs. For the righteousness which is of the law, the right-doing which must stem from right believing, is so readily robbed of its integrity

by inward compromise. Religious history on all hands is full of the rightness that is wrong, of the righteousness that is loveless, of the faithful who has become the Pharisee.

Here, then, from the heart of a Quranic concept of a righteousness that is not disqualified, we come into the very heart of a Christian theme, and to the discovery that the right righteousness is not to be had merely by exhortation. The *Ṣidq* of our *Ṣadaqāt* must turn upon more than warning. There is a sense in which, in the surprising language of Isaiah, "all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." The overcoming of our selfishness fails as long as we are left to ourselves to do it. There is a moral side to what philosophers love to call the ego-centric predicament. The problem of a right righteousness is in the end the quest of an unselfish selfhood. That we are personal centres of consciousness, will, need and desire, is an inescapable fact of our existence, without which nothing. This is selfhood, constitutive as it is of all human experience and being. But to make that selfhood the servant, not the served, of a larger relationship, requires that it not only be addressed by a law that enjoins but taken over by a grace that transforms and a gratitude that saves. For while the enjoining law points out our duty it also buttresses our pride. It may answer the question What? in our moral existence: it does not answer the questions Whether? and How? For these, we are cast back upon a Divine love which bestows what it demands only on the condition of penitence and saves, in the lowly estate of sinners, by a righteousness that is right because it has no room to be proud.

Such is the heart of the Christian's witness to any quest of moral man for the true integrity of his righteousness. The forces which disqualify our deeds and frustrate our translation of truth into righteousness are more than mere prohibition can counter. The final conditions of our being right, in persons and societies, in will and in deed, lie in that re-ordering of ourselves of which the Cross is the crux. For there, since God does not call our sins our own, we learn that neither are our virtues ours.

ABUL KALAM AZAD'S COMMENTARY ON THE QUR'ĀN

"For the last twenty-seven years," writes Maulana Azad, "the Qur'ān has incessantly been the object of my reflection and study. On each chapter, each period, each verse, and each word of it I have traversed long distances, and passed through a number of stages. I venture to say that I have perused most of the Commentaries and Books, available in print or manuscript. There is no aspect of the discussion on the Quranic lore, but — as far as possible — the mind has taken cognizance of it, and effort has been attracted to it with alacrity. At present the branches of knowledge are divided into ancient and modern. But to me these divisions are no divisions at all. The ancient ones form the heritage to which I was entitled. To the modern ones I found my own way ... In the very beginning I refused to be contented with what the family, education, and social influences had bequeathed me. The trammels forged by authority never hindered me, and my insatiable passion for knowledge has never forsaken me ... My heart entertains no certitude which has not been pierced by all the thorns of doubt. My spirit clings to no belief which has not gone through all the ordeals of disbelief.... When I was thirsty, my thirst was not like that experienced by others. When it was quenched, the source of my satisfaction did not happen to be situated in a direction open to others ... To whatever extent and in whatever manner, as a result of inquiries for such a long time, I have understood the Qur'ān, I proceed to express in this book ... (It is not a new invented fiction; but a confirmation of that which preceded it, and a ¹ distinct explication of everything, and a direction and mercy unto people who believe) ..." *Tarjūmān-al-Qur'ān*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19.

Azad's introduction to his Commentary prefigures the character and the scope of the work. The book purports to record a sensitive mind's understanding of the Qur'ān, which "has incessantly been the object of ... reflection and study" during the long and eventful period of the first three decades of this century. The historical details furnished by the author are interesting. In 1915, he started work under a preliminary plan (a) to translate the Qur'ān — with a view to "popular education," (b) to provide a Commentary for intensive study, and (c) to write a Prolegomena addressed to those gifted with "knowledge and insight." The results encouraged him to publish in 1916 a Proposal for two books to be called *Tarjūmān-al-Qur'ān* (a) and *Tafsīr al-Bayān* (b and c). The popularity enjoyed by his writings in the periodicals *Al-Hilāl* and *Al-Balāgh* ensured a tremendous response to the

¹ Surah xii. III, Sale's translation.

proposal. Azad, who looked forward to an early completion of the work, began to concentrate upon it in all earnestness. But his political affairs thwarted his purpose. Under the Ordinance for the Defence of India, the British Government ordered him, in 1916, to leave his province. In July followed his imprisonment. While in prison, he continued his labours. But the manuscripts he had compiled thus far were thrown out of joint in the course of official inspections. Towards the end of 1919, he was released.

But he came out of the prison into an atmosphere surcharged with political unrest. The Non-Cooperation Movement in the country claimed all his energies. However, solicitations from his readers, who had been tantalised long enough, prevailed upon him to resume the *Tafsir* in 1921. But his career was much too indissolubly linked with political developments. The Indian National Congress launched Civil Disobedience which resulted in the incarceration of all its leaders, including Azad, in December 1921. This time Azad had little to fear because of his personal distraction, since his book was ready to go through mechanical processes. But the blow fell with un-expectedly greater severity; the ruthlessness with which the searches of his papers were conducted left his manuscripts in a sadly mutilated condition. He had to go over the whole thing again; and it was long before he decided to do so. The rewriting of the Commentary, which he has compared to Carlyle's work on the French Revolution, began at the end of 1927. In the vigorous enthusiasm which renewed application gave him, he overcame the disheartening effects of his earlier frustration. But failing health and the accelerated pace of his political activities hampered him. Nevertheless, he brought his labours to a conclusion in 1930.

The foregoing facts will explain why *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*, as it finally emerged, should have been considerably different from what it was planned to be. In its present form, it consists of two volumes which were published in 1930 and 1936 respectively, but later revised and reprinted in 1945. The first volume (475 pages) contains the text and the translation of the first six chapters of the Qur'ān. Azad's commentary on the first chapter (i.e., Introduction — Al-Fātiḥah), which runs into 224 pages, now serves the purpose of what he would call the Prolegomena. The following chapters are only translated in juxtaposition with marginal notes; no extensive commentary has been appended to them. The translation features a copious insertion of Azad's own parentheses in order to elucidate the Quranic expressions. By the time the second volume was ready for publication, it must have been apparent to Azad that it would be long before circumstances permitted him (if they permitted at all) to achieve exact completeness. Hence the detailed and in some cases retrospective appendices to several chapters. The translation in this volume is characterised by the same measure of parenthetical elucidations and marginal notes as in the preceding one. Through the 544 pages of this volume, the Quranic text has been fol-

lowed up to the first chapter of the eighteenth part (in terms of the 30-part division) of the Holy Book.

Outspoken and unsparing in his criticism of his predecessors, Azad believes that comprehension of the Qur'ān bears an inverse proportion to the historical development of the Muslim society. The farther a commentator is removed from the earliest age (Ṣadr-i-Awwāl), the stronger and more pronounced is his incapacity to grasp the reality of the Holy Book. Azad mentions the following facts to illustrate and explain his contention.

(i) People to whom the Qur'ān was directly addressed had simple minds. Hence the natural style of the Qur'ān was directly comprehensible to them. But with the passage of time, influences from Persian and Roman cultures and from Greek science destroyed that blissful simplicity.

(ii) As a rule, a book is best understood by the disciples of the Ṣāhib-i-Kitāb (the Prophet). Commentators in later generations ignored this fact; and gave the Predecessors (Salaf) credit for only greater piety, not for greater knowledge.

(iii) Legends popular among the converted Muslims were imported into Tafsīrs.

(iv) The principle of reference to the immediate disciples of the Prophet was ignored; still a superstitious reverence for their authority led to the acceptance of many apocryphal comments attributed to them.

(v) People lost sight of the Quranic method of argument. Ridiculous attempts to read logical subtleties into the Qur'ān resulted in the perversion of the reality embodied in it.

(vi) Simple words used in the Qur'ān, e.g. *Khulūd* (permanence), *Aḥad* (one), *Mathal* (example), *Hujjah* (proof), *Burhān* (argument), *Ta'wīl* (interpretation), developed highly technical senses which could not have been imagined in the earliest age.

(vii) An assumption grew that there was no discord between the teachings of the Qur'ān and the scientific discoveries.

(viii) The commentators did not recognise with sufficient fidelity and clearness that like all other teachings the Quranic teachings revolve around some central ideas and basic principles.

(ix) In many cases the commentators did not possess an instinctive sense for the appreciation of the Arabic idiom.

(x) Although as a rule the Muslim 'ulamā' did not succumb to political influences which threatened to disrupt the integrity of their individual judgement, yet their minds could not be totally insulated. As a result local circumstances did somehow colour their outlook on the Qur'ān.

(xi) From the 4th century (A.H.) onwards, authoritarianism was the order of the day. The right of Ijtihād fell into disuse, and great minds among the commentators squandered their resources on barren subtleties.

(xii) Obscurantism and adherence to authority led to such anomalous things as the popularity of Al-Sakkākī, Al-Taftāzānī, Al-Baiḍāwī, and the two Jalāls.

(xiii) In the most popular Tafsīrs, the flimsiest and the most inappropriate interpretation is chosen.

(xiv) *Tafsīr bi-l-Ra'y* (personal interpretation) opened the door to all those difficulties and contradictions which are supposed to exist in the Holy Book.

Azad is particularly dissatisfied with Al-Rāzī's ² interpretation. But he recognises that the *Tafsīr al-Kabīr* is still held to be the *opus magnum* in the field of exegesis. In order to determine the purely academic (*ilmī*) value of his own work, he suggests that Al-Rāzī's work may be made the starting-point in an inquiry into the original contributions which he [Azad] has to make. He laments the fact that such an approach cannot be made by the educated men in contemporary Muslim society, since they are brought up either in the Eastern or the Western tradition, and nobody has achieved a synthesis of the two.

SUBSTANCE OF TARJUMĀN-AL-QUR'ĀN

THE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTION OF GOD ³.

Contemplation of Nature is the best moral and intellectual effort of which man is capable. An insight into the workings of the universal system induces the belief that there are definite laws governing them. The infinite variety of phenomena can be made intelligible only with reference to these laws. What appears to be casual, inexplicable, or ugly only speaks for the corresponding deficiency of our knowledge. Things run their determinate course under "Guidance" with which they are endowed by Nature. They are rising to the best, the fittest, and the most beneficial state possible for them. In their corruption and final extinction they contribute towards the readjustment and the remodelling of the whole to which they belong. The laws of their growth and decay are not derived from mechanical necessity, but from wisdom and mercy. Hence the idea of personal Godhead.

Nineteenth century anthropology laboured under the assumption that monotheism represented an advanced stage in man's quest after Divine reality. Latest investigations have exploded this view. It appears that the ancient Chinese, Indian, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, and Jewish theologies were all very definitely characterised by monotheism. As far as the intuitive apprehension of the Supreme Being is concerned, human

² Fakhr al-Rāzī, whose *Tafsīr al-Kabīr* is reputed to be the most philosophical approach to the Qur'ān. Iqbāl shared Azad's distaste for Al-Rāzī: "When I washed out of my eyes", says he, "the antimony given by Rāzī, I read the laws of human destiny into the (Holy) Book". (*Jarwīd Nameh*).

³ Azad takes the view that, etymologically the root-sense of Allāh is related to "perplexity". See *Tarjumān-al-Qur'ān*, vol. I, p. 33.

instincts never err. But the question of attributes creates confusion. Anthropocentric theologies revolt the enlightened soul, and the explicative value of the idea of the Deity is lost. Philosophy comes to our rescue in order to salvage this idea which is the principle of the fulfilment of our spiritual needs. But the philosophical re-interpretation is not eligible for popular acceptance. In its struggle to wipe out all empirical characteristics, it fumbles over an indefinable residuum of negative qualities. Thus monotheism is reinstated, but in a form which is incomprehensible and unattractive to the common man. At this stage, theology stratifies into the abstruse monotheism of the gifted élite, and the sensuous imagery of the popular mind which finds a picturesque host of minor gods under the Supreme Being more relevant to its needs than a single metaphysical entity. This explains why polytheism, which has invariably replaced monotheism in the history of all religions, never quite degenerates into an anarchistic denial of the principle and the substance of Divinity.

Islam has discovered the happy mean of *Ta'ṭīl* (negative theology) and *Tashbīḥ* (anthropomorphism). Its arguments for the existence of God proceed from the sense of mystery which haunts the human mind, until it has reposed its faith in the wise and merciful Author of the Universe. While the Qur'ān does not stoop to a logical analysis of the Divine attributes, it does infer from the truth of Nature and Life the three attributes of Cherisher-ship (*Rubūbiyyah*), Mercy (*Raḥmah*), and Justice (*ʿAdālah*). Essentially, God is interested in the maintenance and the promotion of the most beneficial (as distinguished from the fittest) order of things.

No doubt, Azad observes, the Islamic conception is in-elastic, and no compromise with respect to its basic principles can be justified on a Muslim's part. Nevertheless, it represents the widest measure of truth ever grasped by any historical religion. Nor does the Qur'ān approve the employment of coercive methods in order to indoctrinate men with this conception. It only enunciates the natural law that the acceptance of the right theology preached by it paves the way to human perfection, while the rejection of it is the cause of the debasement of humanity.

Azad has devoted the major part of his Commentary on the first chapter to the problem of theology. He believes that the right theology may, if indeed it does not, form the basis for a universally acceptable religion. An understanding of the Divine reality is bound to be reflected in a moral disposition whose actual expression will bring the agent into perfect harmony with the laws of the universe. But these are only broad principles of faith and morality. Beyond them there is no specific rule commended to mankind for universal acceptance. For Divine mercy has shown all the peoples the Way (*Sharʿ*) and the Method (*Minhāj*) which in its own interests and according to its own needs each must follow.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE QURANIC TEXT, OR FOLLOWING FROM IT

(a) THE QURAN

The book revealed to the prophet of Islam, during a period of twenty-three years, did not reject the teachings of earlier books (particularly the Taurah and the Injil). It reiterated the Divine message formerly communicated through them. However, it emphasised the fact that at the time when Muḥammad preached, the followers of these books had lost sight of the eternal truth (viz., the doctrines of Divine unity and moral rectitude) embodied in them. Its approach to historical facts was determined by a desire to enlighten its readers and purify them, not by a desire to initiate them into historical lore. Its style is suited to the structure of the simple mind of the Arabs. Hence the futility of attempts to harmonise its data with philosophical and scientific truth. However, it may be noted, the advance of our knowledge does in an increasing measure enable us to verify its truth with greater precision and distinctness.

Only those who would look upon every injunction or statement in the Qurʾān as universal in its applicability, will have difficulty over the verses which are supposed to have been abrogated (*Mansūkh*)⁴ and those which are believed to have abrogated them (*Nāsikh*). All such verses are relevant to certain circumstances, with reference to which alone they are intelligible⁵.

In spite of its effective integrity, however, the Holy Book is divided into the clear (*Muḥkamāt*) and the parabolical (*Mutashābihāt*) verses. The former contain plainly and distinctly stated principles and com-

⁴ "Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause (thee) to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it. Dost thou not know that God is almighty? Dost thou not know that unto God belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? neither have ye any protector or helper except God". Surah ii. 105-106, Sale's translation, p. 13. "Whenever we change, or cause to pass into oblivion some of our laws, we send down some other laws similar or superior to them. (So if a new Shari'ah has now made its appearance), there is nothing to be surprised at. Do you not know that nothing lies beyond the power of God. (If with a view to your guidance, He can once send down laws, He can do so over and over again). Do you not know that it is God to whom the kingdom of earth and heaven belongs? And you have no protector or helper except God". *Tarjūmān-al-Qurʾān*, vol. I, p. 247-8.

⁵ Cf. Azad's comments on the verses (iv, 14): If any of your women be guilty of whoredom, produce four witnesses from among you against them, and if they bear witness (against them), imprison them in (separate) apartments until death release them, or God affordeth them a way (to escape) ... Sale's translation, p. 55. Says Azad: Some of the commentators have held ... that the punishment prescribed here was awarded in the early days of Islam, but when subsequently the Surah of Light, which lays down the punishment for adultery, was revealed, this regulation was repealed. But some other commentators maintain that these verses and the Surah of Light state the punishment for different offences ... Hence both the pronouncements stand unaffected. *Tarjūmān-al-Qurʾān*, vol. I, p. 363, foot-note.

mandments; the latter relate to transcendental things which have been described through symbols and metaphors, so that the human understanding may find it possible to assimilate them.

(b) THE TAURAH, THE INJĪL, AND OTHER SCRIPTURES

Azad does not assert that the Scriptures known in Muḥammad's time were not authentic. He lays stress on the verses of the Qur'ān which indicate that the Qur'ān was meant to confirm them. Moreover, in his inquiry concerning the identity of Dhū-l-Qarnain, by whom he understands Cyrus, the King of Medea (d. 529 B.C.), he quotes copiously from the Jewish texts in order to re-inforce his thesis. But he emphasises that the People of Books in Muḥammad's time had been inveigled into self-complacency and moral degeneration. They clung to their own (mis-) interpretations which had no basis in the Holy Books.

In some cases, however, where the Qur'ān makes a distinct departure from the Jewish or Christian sources, Azad does attribute the difference to interpolations in the latter. Such is the Christian doctrine of the Sonship of Christ, or the Jewish version of the worship of the Calf. Not only does Azad brush aside the opinion (held by Selden whom Sale has quoted in foot-note 'k' on page 237 of his translation) that Al-Sāmīrī might be Aaron himself, but he also pours ridicule on those commentators who translated the words: "Faqaḅadtu qabḁatan min athar-al-Rasūl" (Surah xx, 95) as: "I took a handful of dust from the footsteps of the messenger of God" (Sale's translation, p. 239). His own interpretation is that in idiomatic Arabic "taking a handful" means the acquisition of a small or negligible portion. Therefore, according to him, Al-Sāmīrī's whole plea is to be rendered as follows: "I saw what others (of my un-godly community) had not seen. (Therefore, I chose to respond to the Prophet's, i.e., Moses' influence; but) I had only a negligible share thereof, which (now) I have discarded, for so my (incorrigible) soul urged me to do."

(c) THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

The community founded by the Prophet of Islam had only one mission to perform, namely, the proclamation of the Divine message of truth and righteousness. It was laid under an obligation to liberate these noble principles from the chaotic mass of man-made schisms and superstitions. The Qur'ān has made it clear that no group or society can elude or defeat the Divine laws according to which Truth prevails, and falsehood comes to nothing. The Muslim community was not a God-favoured community in an unconditional sense. In its early days Islam encountered violent intolerance from all quarters. In order to defend themselves, Muslims were allowed to meet force with force. But

at the same time, it was demanded of them not to lose sight of the supreme ends of justice and respect for humanity.

Islam tended to minimise the evil effects of slavery, although it did not make a clean sweep of the institution. It confined the master's right to cases wherein slaves came into his possession in consequence of a war in a righteous cause.

Islam can be compared to Socialism, in so far as both aim at the abolition of hoardings which exceed actual needs. But the distinction lies in Islam's recognition of the individual's right to property.

Azad distinguishes *Islām*, *Imān* and *Ihsān* as the three levels of Islamic life. The verse (Surah ix, 112): "(Triumphant) are those who turn repentant (to Allāh), those who serve (Him), those who praise (Him), those who enjoin the right and forbid the wrong, those who keep the limits (ordained) of Allah" ⁶, is considered by him as an exhaustive enumeration of the successive stages through which Muslims attain to perfection.

(d) OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

The portion of the Qurʾān which is commented on in the second volume of *Tarjumān-al Qurʾān* is singularly rich in basic principles and historical data. The following is a brief resume of Azad's views on some important questions:—

(1) — *The postponement of a sacred month.* (Surah ix. 36. Vol. 2. p. 128).

Azad suggests that the astronomer Abū Maʿshar was the first to read a reference to intercalation into this verse. He finds no justification for astronomical explanations based by Caussin de Perceval, Wellhausen, Mahmud Muhtar Pasha and others upon it. In his view, the Qurʾān only intends to put an end to the vicious practice of the Arabs who played fast and loose with the months of the lunar calendar. Although Islam adopted that calendar (because of its comparative simplicity and the seasonal variety it afforded), it did not recognise the right, claimed and exercised by the Arabs, to ante-date or post-date a sacred month.

(2) — *Cosmic and human development.* (Surah x. 3: xxiii. 13. Vol. 2. p. 175).

By the "six days" stated to have elapsed during the creation of the Heavens and Earth, Azad understands the six "periods" indicated in the Qurʾān, namely:

1. The gaseous period (xli, 11)
2. The dissipation of the gas (xxi, 30)
3. The formation of the planets (xli, 9 and 12)

⁶ Pickthall's translation, vol. I, p. 260.

4. The emergence of water (xxi, 30)
5. The formation of mountains (xl, 10), and
6. The beginning of life (xxi, 30). (Vol. 2. p. 540. f.)

In regard to the Quranic references to embryonic growth, Azad draws upon Haeckel's *Evolution of Man* to prove that man's offspring acquires the human form as the result of natural development in its pre-natal existence. He asserts that the Quranic embryology was mis-interpreted by the commentators to whom the results of scientific investigation were not available.

In a general way, however, Azad recommends a cautious procedure in such explanations. For scientific explanations are liable to modifications. It is gratifying that sometimes they lend themselves to a more satisfactory interpretation of the meaning of the Qur'ān. But as a rule we should believe that things of the hidden world will remain beyond our ken.

(3) — *The Quranic Parables* (Surah xi. Vol. 2. p. 209 f.)

Quranic narratives illustrate the law of the uniformity of Nature. Like material objects, non-material things (i.e., actions, morals etc.) have their properties whose effects are necessary and unalterable. Divine mercy had provided (prophetic) guidance for mankind in all times and places. Acceptance of this guidance paves the way to prosperity; while defiance leads to extinction.

The Qur'ān does not support the view that the Deluge in Noah's time was universal.

Events in Quranic history, chosen from the life of Semitic peoples best known to the immediate audience of the Qur'ān, fall within three millenia before Christ.

The latest discoveries, facilitated by greater acquaintance with Egyptian relics and hieroglyphics, tend to assail the accuracy of the Quranic stories of Moses and Joseph. But if Egyptian sources do not corroborate them, it does not follow that they are definitely disproved. Even so, it is a question of interpretation whether Egyptian sources do not in fact confirm the Qur'ān.

(4) — *The Story of Joseph*. (Surah xii. Vol. 2. p. 49 f.)

Egypt was a highly civilized country two thousand years before Christ. The arrangements for the banquet held by the Ruler's (Al-'Azīz) wife (e.g., cushioned couch, knife, etc. — Surah xii, 31) show the etiquette observed by Egyptian aristocrats. The "guile" of women mentioned in verses 28 and 50 does not signify, on the part of the Qur'ān, a sweeping denunciation of female psychology. It is only the euphemistic protest of an Egyptian aristocrat, who, as a connoisseur of libertarian women of a progressive society, was not disposed to take a serious view of his wife's unchastity.

Joseph's "interpretation of events" (verses 21 etc.) does not mean an additional gift over and above his prophetic activity.

(5) — *The Journey by Night* (Surah xvii. 1. Vol. 2. p. 368. f.)

The prophet's "Journey by night from the Inviolable Place of Worship to the Far Distant Place of Worship" was something which exclusively and indefinitely belongs to a Prophet's life. The Commentators have bothered themselves over the question whether movement in this case was physical or psychic.

(6) — *The People of the Cave*. (Surah xviii. Vol. 2. p. 393. f.)

Al-Raqīm (usually translated as "Inscription") was the city subsequently known as Petra. "We sealed up their hearing in the Cave for a number of years" (xviii. 11) does not necessarily imply an extraordinary length of sleep. The figure of 309 years as the extent of the sojourn in the Cave is not the Qur'ān's own version, but only a quotation based on earlier traditions.

In his explanation of the verse: "Thou wouldst have deemed them waking though they were asleep" (18), Azad has drawn a weird picture of the whole scene. Death overtook the "People of the Cave", while they were in postures of worship. The mild temperature inside the Cave resisted decomposition. Cross-ventilation of the Cave kept the corpses constantly swinging to and fro. So "if you peep (into the cave) at them, you would turn away from them in flight, being filled with awe of them".

(7) — *Dhū-l-Qarnain*. (Surah xviii. Vol. 2. p. 399. f.)

Dhū-l-Qarnain was a name mentioned by the Jews, not invented in the Qur'ān.

Al-Rāzī (Fakhr al-Dīn) has strained the words too far to make the Quranic description applicable to Alexander the Great. The discovery, in 1838, of the Pasargadae statue of Cyrus, the king of Media (d. 529 B.C.) has furnished visible proof for the description of "the two horns". Historical facts indicate that in Cyrus, the prophet Daniel's dream became perfectly true. Cyrus was successful in stemming the depredations of the Scythian tribes. These tribes belonged to the Mongolian stock. It follows that Yājūj (Gog) and Ma'jūj (Magog) mentioned in the Qur'ān mean the Mongolian tribes.

(8) — *The Birth of Christ* (Vol. 2. p. 444)

Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Dr. Tawfiq Ṣidqī and many others argued against the miraculous birth of Christ from the absence of explicit corroboration of the doctrine in the Qur'ān. But the substance and the spirit of what has actually been said in Surahs iii and xix suggests that the Qur'ān is not opposed to it.

(9) — *The historical importance of the Arabic language and culture* (Surah xxi. Vol. 2. p. 486. f.)

The book of Job is the oldest poetical composition known to us. The highly complex structure of the Arabic language could not be perfected by an un-cultured people as the pre-Islamic Arabs are supposed to have been. It follows that so called "pagan" Arabia was the centre of an efflorescent culture and a mature language.

(10) — *Jonah's Anger* (Surah xxi. 87. Vol. 2. p. 489.)

The usual translation: "When he went off in anger and deemed that we had no power over him" makes a blasphemous imputation against a prophet. The words "Lan naqdira alaihi" should, therefore, be rendered: "we would not put him into strait situations".

(11) — *Abraham's Dicta* (Surah xxi 57-67, Vol. 2. p. 495).

Many commentators fondly believed that the prophet Abraham, "the truest of all truthful men", actually told lies on three occasions. They failed to appreciate the relevance of his statements to particular situations. For instance, they overworked the triumphant sarcasm in the prophet's rejoinder: "Rather, this their chief hath done it. So question them, if they can speak". (v. 63). They forgot that the Imām who had already declared his intention to "circumvent" the idols (v. 57) would not stoop so low as to utter a falsehood in order to save himself.

A CRITICAL ESTIMATE

Azad's own appraisal of his work, quoted at the beginning of this essay, is couched in pontifical terms; but it yields two important points from which we may start our analysis. One is the fact that between the beginning of his "incessant study and reflection" (1903) and the time when he wrote the Preface to the revised edition of *Tarjuman-al-Qur'ān* (1945) a very long and eventful period intervenes. The other is the spirit in which Azad expatiates on his qualifications for his work.

Let us bear in mind that, because of the repeated mishaps which befell his manuscripts, *Tarjuman-al-Qur'ān* does not represent the author's mind before 1927. In fact this year may be taken to have marked a turning-point in Azad's career. In spite of the aggressive boldness and originality displayed by the man, his biographers will be well-advised to interpret his thought in terms of its interaction with, if not subordination to, some historic personalities who dominated the political scene or directed the intellectual currents in the country. At the outset he pursued the line of thought struck by his intellectual guide, Shibli. Until the abolition of the Turkish Khilāfat in 1924, and the numerous crises provoked by the increasing divergence of interest between the Muslims and the Indian National Congress, Indian Muslims had primarily been concerned with the consequences of the dominance of European powers all over the world. Azad was one of those leaders who moulded their outlook in that period. His writings lent specific content and plausibility to the ideal of Pan-Islamism. He gave poignant expression to the pious belief in the Qur'ān as the eternal guidance for mankind. The position adumbrated in the verse (Surah iii. 110): "Ye are the best community that hath been raised for mankind", found in him one of its most influential advocates. Like the forebear, Shibli, Azad had the vastness of historical erudition to conjure up the glorious

past of Islam to show that Western civilisation was great where it was indebted to Islamic traditions. He maintained that the teachings of the Qurʾān were not only entirely practicable in the 20th century, but that the world, caught up in the vortex of materialism, clamoured for their revival. Since mankind tended away from the Divine truth preached by religion, Azad called upon all God-fearing men, especially the Muslims, to carry on a struggle (*jihād*), uncompromising in spirit and universal in its extent, against disbelief and untruth (*Kufr wa-Bāṭil*).

Viewed against the background of these ideals, Azad's plans (drawn up in 1915) to write a commentary on the Qurʾān naturally fit into the framework within which he operated. Indeed his writings in *Al-Hilāl* and *Al-Balāgh* had already been drawing heavily on Quranic wisdom in order to illustrate and strengthen his arguments. It was only natural that he decided to consolidate his reflections into an independent *magnum opus*. Since Sayyid Aḥmad's re-interpretation of Islam, the Qurʾān had been very much in the thought of Muslim intellectuals. Apart from a number of translations and commentaries undertaken at the theological (i.e. in terms familiar to Indian Muslims, Darsi or academic) level, there had been no dearth of enthusiastic appreciations attempted by scholars educated on Western lines. The denial by the followers of Sayyid Aḥmad of the unscientific character of the Holy Book, Amīr ʿAlī's rehabilitation of the Quranic laws relating to polygamy, slavery, and *Jihād*, and Iqbāl's deduction of his evolutionary ethics from the Qurʾān had started a new genre in Islamic literature. With a view to systematising the expression of his genius and insight, this line of action was also chosen by Azad, who significantly calls his work, in Quranic phraseology, "a confirmation of that which preceded it, a distinct explication of everything, and a direction and mercy unto people who believe" (Surah xii, III).

But when in 1927 Azad began to rewrite his Commentary, his outlook had changed. The abolition of the Khilāfat had changed his philosophy; his own continued association with the Congress had changed the Muslims' attitude towards him. Now he was a colleague of Gandhi and Nehru, collaborating with them to shape forth the new ideology of Indian nationalism. Azad's biographers (like the late Asīf ʿAlī of Delhi) have set store by the fact, of which he himself was considerably proud, that his politics had not been vitiated by any back-slides or reactions. In his personal development, however, the case seems to have been just the reverse. His *Tafsīr* sums up the change which had come over him. His overwrought emphasis on his credentials was intended to convince the reader that in spite of this change he was still qualified to comment upon the Qurʾān.

From 1927 to 1937, the gulf between Azad and his admiring co-religionists widened only slowly. But in 1937 when, with the formation of Congress Ministries under the 1935 Act of Federation, the Muslim League was roused into active opposition to the Congress, the erst-

while hero of Muslim India fell on evil days and evil tongues. This led the man to re-define his attitude not only towards Muslims, but towards Islam itself. He made a distinction between simple Islamic faith and creed ⁷, and the system superimposed upon it in the course of history. The latter was rejected by him; while the former appeared to represent the common essence of all the religions of the world. It is here in Azad's teachings that the influence of Gandhian eclecticism is felt to be the strongest. The question of a Prophet for each people frequently attracted the attention of Muslim theoreticians from the time they began their history in India. But if one of them were asked to specify whether noble figures in Indian history could be named as Prophets, he would suspend his judgement. An eminent representative of the class (Qāḍī Muḥammad Sulaimān Mansūrpuri, *vide* his historical *Rahmah li-l-ʿAlamīn*, a life of the Prophet ⁸) actually undertook a detailed historical analysis to show that none of the heroic figures in Indian religion attains to the high standard of moral excellence and native wisdom requisite for the prophetic mission. Obviously, such a psychological inhibition resulted from the characteristic Islamic stand against polytheism. Azad had to impose something like a subjective order on history in order to disabuse the Muslim mind of its assumption that Hindu thought is co-extensive or synonymous with polytheism.

Azad made a conscious and boldly executed effort to outgrow his earlier fanaticism, but in spite of his experience of transition from one point to its antipodal opposite, his mind was not susceptible of vacillation or ambivalence. His mental progress seems to consist of discrete units. As a believer in the high vocation and destiny of the Muslim community, he had perfect confidence in the validity of what he believed. Converted to a faith in the common essence of all religions, he still betrayed no symptoms of unresolved conflicts and unanswered doubts. Although his commentary is much more restrained in style and subdued in spirit than his juvenalia, yet the politician's method of building his edifice absolutely on the ruins of all its competitors characterises both compositions. The equanimity with which he dismisses a different point of view, or ignores it, often gives the impression of superficiality. His attitude that, apart from instances few and far between, the entire history of the world ought not to have been what it is, is only the intensified role of a practical preceptor who always laments over the conditions he actually finds. The shrinkage of the substance of Islam under his interpretation is the result and the external manifestation of an intellectual unicellularity on his own part. So devoted was he to the central idea of

⁷ In his latest pronouncement on the question (Ghubār-i-Khātir, pp. 59-74) Azad reiterated this view in a more mature but less enraptured way. See Bibliography.

⁸ The present writer owes an apology for misrepresenting Mansurpuri's position. Actually, Mansurpuri's reference to particular persons (*op. cit.* III, 479) is only polemical and casual. In general, his belief in the various local versions of the Guidance is most emphatic. (*ibid.* 469-470).

his *Tafsir* that some very legitimate questions relating to the Qurʾān escaped his attention. Thus, while he lapsed into self-contradiction by allowing himself to be dragged into an extended discussion of the Divine attributes, he seems to have had no critical notions on the nature and the function of Prophecy. In order to get rid of the super-natural, he confines the Prophet's miracle to the revolution he wrought. The importance of the revolution is judged by its historical consequences. As the next step from this position, should have come the affirmation of the value of the entire glory of the Islamic history as the recurring proof of the greatness of the Prophet. But Azad did not take this step.

The foregoing criticism has not taken into account the autobiographical value of *Tarjumān-al-Qurʾān*. Sayyid Aḥmad's reinterpretation of Islam had shown how a realistic and pacific attitude towards the British masters could be harmonised with a Muslim's loyalty to his religion. Azad, who—ironically enough—ridiculed the old man's clumsy acrobatics, lived to push the same scheme through another stage of readaptation, showing how the irreducible minimum of a Muslim's religiosity could not only survive but prosper side by side with the most unstinted co-operation with non-Muslim compatriots. What he has done was a dangerous and scandalising idiosyncrasy before the partition of the country. But it is a precedent of the most vital interest for thirty-five million Muslims living in India today.

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*Institute of Islamic Studies,
Montreal.*

S. A. KAMALI

MAN AND HIS PERFECTION IN MUSLIM THEOLOGY

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following article is translated by permission from the first number of *Toumliline 1, Principes d'Education*, Rabat, 1958, pp. 41-56, the journal of the Monastery at Toumliline, Azrou, Morocco. This small Berber town, situated some 70 kilometres south of Meknes, has in recent years become a symbol of Muslim-Christian theological meeting. International Summer Courses have been held there, under distinguished Moroccan, Muslim patronage and attended by Muslim shaikhs, Christian priests and monks and students of both faiths, from Morocco, Europe and beyond. The monastery was established in October, 1952, by a group of Benedictines and has pioneered Islamic studies and Muslim friendships, which have had a remarkable response.

The paper that follows was contributed in French during the second session of 1957 by Dr. 'Uthmān Yaḥyā, an 'Alim of Al-Azhar, Cairo. The general subject of the Conference was education. Dr. Yaḥyā's exposition of Muslim theology and its concepts of man and his salvation raises several deep questions. The Christian must always be perplexed about its ready confidence that "to know is to do," that man's salvation happens under purely revelatory auspices and that through the law given in the Divine communication is the path that man will follow once he knows and sees it. The whole mystery of human recalcitrance and 'hardness of heart' seems to be overlooked. The paper, however, must be seen in the light of its setting in a symposium of Muslim-Christian encounter. As such, it is a fertile source of study of Islamic thinking under the impact of Christian meeting. The question is also implicit, in the deep interpretations here given of Islam, how far such impacts are themselves arousing new Islamic views of Islam.

The purpose of this note, however, is not to comment or to criticise, but simply to introduce, for the benefit of English readers, what we are grateful to be allowed to publish in tribute to a new venture and in service to the mutual awareness of Muslims and Christians in their contemporary life of thought and of devotion.

MAN AND HIS PERFECTION IN MUSLIM THEOLOGY

May I be permitted, before expounding the concept of man's perfection as Islam sees it, to thank most warmly the organisers of this international session, for the invitation with which I have been honored and also to assure them of my joy at all that our meeting symbolises. It is of both spiritual and intellectual significance having to do with various currents of thought and of traditional faith. In making possible these dialogues, the international session has also given occasion to the basic sense of universality cherished alike by Islam and Christianity. Of whatever faith we be, we cannot but rejoice to see the portals of

liberty opening before us. As the light streams through them the voice of truth is also liberated into utterance. Liberty, Light and Truth are the condition, the means and the final end; they are, in one word, the profound reality of man's perfection and of his ultimate salvation.

Here the motive spring of our meeting is not polemic, destructive as it so often is with its aim of imposing individual arguments that do despite to pure truth. Rather we seek a free and frank exchange on the themes in which we believe and upon which we rest our lives.

The recollection of the history of polemical debate in both West and East during the Middle Ages between Christians and Muslims kindles in my heart a great sense of sorrow, with the realisation that it was the concept of religion itself which proved the cause of so much blindness and fanaticism. Is not religious life, before all else, the sense of the Divine presence, momentarily renewed in the heart of the believer and having its source in Love and Truth? These are indissolubly linked together. How can one conceive of love which is not truth and of truth that is not love? Is not religious life life in its essential nature, taking its rise in the transcendent Divine, in which by grace we participate?

It is the longing for the remembrance of the Divine union which drives man with a hidden power to join himself with the object he seeks and whither tend all his desires, in every realm of his moral life. He must pass out of every idolatry that deifies partial facets of the pure Truth, towards Truth itself, the pure goal of metaphysical experience and the sole venture of spirit which allows man to pass through the stages that lead him to that ever miraculous experience of unitive being with the supreme source.

"I am the truth". Such an affirmation could not be made save by God Himself, for He is the very Unity in Himself. He who attains to this Unity is that rare soul, the perfect man, the saint who dies to his contingent existence in order to taste the ineffable delight of union with God, becoming thereby the clear mirror in which the splendour of the Divine image is reflected.

THE CONCEPT OF GOD AND OF MAN

The concept of human values is very closely bound up with ideas of God. For man is made in the image of God ¹. He is God's representative on earth ² — he in whom the whole Divine perfection spread through the universe is summed up in synthesis. Let us first then contemplate the concept of God as it exists in Islam. The Qur'ān in many passages presents God in His relation to Himself and in His relation to

¹ "God has created man in His image" is a tradition current in mystical circles and attributed to the Prophet of Islam. It lies at the basis of the doctrine of Al Hallāj and of Ibn 'Arabī about the perfect man. Cr. Preface to *Fuṣuṣ al Ḥikam*, by Affifi, p. 35, Cairo, 1936, and also *Tawāsin*, Massignon, pp. 129-130.

² Surah ii. 30-34.

man. God is essentially in Himself pure and absolutely transcendent unity, in all His magnificent fulness. All characterisation of God as He is in Himself is, in the Qurʾān, couched in negative terms. For in fact nothing within our experience in the world, however lofty, however intelligible, however beautiful, can give us an adequate idea of the wisdom and majesty of a God Who is far beyond all that human imagination can conceive. The idea of the Divine transcendence is most forcibly expressed in Surah cii: "Say, He is God alone, the God to whom is all recourse. He begat not nor was He begotten. None is equal unto Him." And this other verse (Surah xlii. 11): "Nothing can be compared unto God." Of course, the affirmation of Divine transcendence and of Divine unity is proper to all monotheistic religion. But in Islam it possesses a most carefully defined doctrinal basis that is peculiar to Islam. God in Himself is beyond all comprehension, and man, as a creature, has no access in himself to the intimate life of God. The Divine nature admits of neither division, nor multiplicity, nor sonship. The Divine essence has not been brought into being, nor does it bring into being.

Dogmatic theology and Muslim mystics have much to say on this concept of the Divine. Here is the song of a ṣūfī of the 6th century A.H.: "God is beyond all human thought; between Him and the creature there can be no other relation than that of Divine providence, no causes other than His decrees, and no other present than the Eternal. But the vision of God is granted to the creature, if he is ready to be entirely nothinged and to be set free from his individuality. All that is other than God is a veil that hinders vision. When the dark shadows are dispelled, the light at once radiates forth. When the soul's desires pass away, the veil is lifted and the light of Truth flows in ³.

Nevertheless, though God is totally transcendent in Himself and in His own Divine nature an indivisible unity, yet in relation to the world He is the free Creator and merciful Provider. In line with all sacred books in monotheism, the Qurʾān in turn confirms that the world is neither an emanation nor a blind determinism, nor an incarnation, from the Divine Being. It takes its rise from His creative act and His infinite grace. God is neither the soul of the world, nor its essence. Hence the notion held by pantheistic doctrine according to which God and the world constitute one whole, a single existing reality, has no worth from the Islamic view-point. God is absolutely distinct and independent of the world, while the world is distinct and dependent upon God. This fundamental distinction is based upon the idea of creation, a notion which human understanding is not capable of discovering by the exercise of reason. Only God by His revelation is capable of giving man a true awareness of creation and of His transcendancy in relation to the universe.

³ Preface to *Maḥāsīn al Majālīs*, by Al ʿArif, edit. Asin Palacios, Paris, 1933.

NATURAL AND REVEALED KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

Islam likewise distinguishes between natural theology and revealed and does so with great clarity. By natural knowledge of God one must understand Divinity conceived and apprehended by man. Essential Divinity is that which has been revealed by God Himself. In effect the first is the picture of God through the reflections of His glory that are manifest in the universe, whereas the second is a real presence of God Himself in His inward life, through the temporal appearance of His eternal Word. (Surah vi. 74-83 : vii. 138-140, 194-198).

The concept of God behind and within revelation (Dieu incréé) must not be understood, however, as consisting of some abstraction or as a principle out of all relation with the manifestation. In fact, Muslim theology conceives of three distinct aspects within the bosom of God: the Essence, unconditioned, incommunicable and unshareable; the Attributes which are the Self-motivation of the Divine perfection and the energies of the purely transcendent Essence; and finally, the Divine Names which are personifying substance of the Divine Being in relationship under this or that aspect of His infinite Perfection. It is by means of the Divine Names that the relationship of and communication with God, both natural and supernatural, come to be and to pass.

If we review the list of Divine Names which Muslim tradition has enumerated (Ninety-nine Names are generally recognised) we can distinguish two principal categories: those which serve to designate the Divine Being in Himself and those that have to do with terrestrial relationships and disclosure. The latter divide likewise into two groups: relationships with the world within creation and relations with man in what relates to salvation and final perfection. Thus, for example, Divine Names like The One (*Al-Wāhid*), the Sole (*Al-Aḥad*), the Living (*Al-Ḥayy*), the Self-subsistent (*Al-Qayyūm*), etc symbolise the Divine Being in Himself; while Names such as Creator (*Al-Khāliq*), Fashioner (*Al-Muṣawwir*), Sustainer (*Al-Rāziq*), the Just (*Al-ʿAdil*), the Judge (*Al-Ḥākim*), the Master (*Al-Rabb*), etc. designated God in His relations with the world under creation. Other Divine Names like Light (*Al-Nūr*, Saviour (*Al-Munji*), the Guide (*Al-Hādī*), Peacemaker (*Al-Salām*), the Holy (*Al-Quddūs*), have to do with the relation between God and man within the sphere of salvation and final perfection⁴. Is there in Islam any real relation between God and man beyond nature, and what concretely is the truth of this particular relationship? We will try to answer these questions by analysing the nature of man, his potentiality, his role in the universe and his ultimate destiny.

MAN BEFORE AND AFTER THE FALL

The Qurʾān confronts us with man in two distinct states: the first in his original constitution, the prototype created in the image of God,

⁴ Cf. Ben Barrajan, Commentary on the Divine Names, *Lisān al-Ḥaqq-al-mabthūth fi-al-Amr wa-l-Khalq*, Paris, Nat. No. 2642 A, Preface.

the second man in his actual condition. In the primordial state man was created in entire harmony. He was perfectly constituted. The Qur'ān gives us this description: "We created man in the most noble form." (Surah xcv. 4). Another passage shows us this primordial nature of man as the clear image of the Divine Truth: "Set your face towards the religion of the pure, of man's nature as God made it." (Surah xxx. 30). The Qur'ān describes the Divine 'imprint' upon man the creature by the term *Ṣibghat-Allāh*, which we translate by the phrase "the indelible mark." (Surah ii. 138). Like the Old Testament, the revealed Scripture of Islam assures us of original man's bliss in earthly paradise, where he knew neither hunger, nor thirst. All his desires were abundantly satisfied or rather he had no desires, for desire implies lack and primordial man lived in eternal blessedness. (Surah ii. 35: and xx. 118-119).

As contrasted with his ideal prototype man in his actual state is feeble (Surah iv. 28), despairing (Surah xi. 9), unjust (Surah xiv. 34), quarrelsome (Surah xvi. 4), tyrannical (Surah xcvi. 6), lost (Surah cv. 2), etc. It is true that Muslim theology does not speak of original sin and of its transmission from generation to generation. But we see clearly in the light of these quotations that there are two distinct states of man: that of his original nature and that of his actual fall.

But if with the sin of Adam man has lost the state of Eden, it is by the crime of Cain that this sin entered actively into humanity. After having symbolically described the scene of the crime, the Qur'ān concludes with this tragic sentence: "He who kills anyone except in retaliation (for a person) or for corrupting the earth, it shall be as if he killed all mankind, and he who brings to life it shall be as if he gave life to all mankind." (Surah v. 32). Tradition gives us the reason for this collective responsibility of our actions, evil as well as good: "All humanity is the family of God."

PERFECTION AND DELIVERANCE

If God is by nature absolutely transcendent, incommunicable in His Essence, as we have just shown, and if, on the other hand, man, as he actually is, is incapable of living in perfect blessedness, where is salvation and by what means is it to be made real? Here we reach the heart of our theme.

The possibility of man's deliverance and the way to follow have been indicated by the Qur'ān in its address to sinners, fathers of the human race: "Go forth all of you from hence and if there comes to you guidance from Me then he who follows my guidance shall have nothing to fear, nor shall they know distress." (Surah ii. 38).

By this solemn affirmation God Himself takes action (*entre en acte*) for the salvation of man, out of His vast graciousness, and His infinite pity. For He undertakes to direct man in the path of the right. Islamic tradition then has the means to lead man to final perfection, the effect

of which is liberation from the fear and from the sadness which prevent men from attaining that eternal blessedness which is life in God and for God.

In Islam supernatural salvation works in accordance with a twofold pattern, active and passive. The active means is the manifestation of the Divine Word which shows the way of the true path. Just as the sun illumines objects and makes them visible to our eyes, so the Word in its Self-disclosure reveals the inward life of God and makes these mysteries accessible to our hearts. The passive way of salvation lies in the conformity of man, by free choice, to the message of the Word, a conformity which culminates in its fulness in the identification of human being with the Divine will and with the order disclosed in the revelation.

In effect then man has two means of coming into communication with God in order to realise perfection and obtain salvation. One is on the ground of the created nature, the other through the uncreated revelation. On the natural plane, the intercourse man has with God is the fruit of intellectual speculation and of the potentialities that attach thereto. Such experience, however, is necessarily indirect and incomplete. On the plane of revelation, man attains to an effective communication with God, infinitely superior to the natural since it is God Himself who brings the light to man, granting him a direct apprehension of Himself as He is.

Muslim theology teaches that Divine revelation, contained in the sacred books of monotheisms finds its completion in the Qur²ān which is the substantial Word, uncreated, subsisting eternally in God. Truly the spiritual implications of this conception are immense. It allows the human being to enter into direct communication with God. The Qur²ān in our very hands is not some exterior act of God, but precisely the Divine presence itself in His eternity. The Muslim who ponders the Qur²ān and who conforms his life to the light of the Divine wisdom has veritably a real experience of the Eternal.

The orthodox Islamic doctrine as to the uncreatedness of the Qur²ān has affinities with the dogma of the Incarnation in Christianity. According to Christian faith, the Divine nature co-exists mysteriously with the human nature of Christ. The different perspective of the doctrine of the uncreated Qur²ān from that of the Incarnation lies solely, according to our view, in the fact of different modes of the manifestation of the Word. In the Christian view the Word was made flesh in the person of Christ: whereas the Word was made expressive (*se fait expression*) in the descent of the Qur²ān.

THE IMPERATIVES OF PERFECTION

In the Islamic view, the attainment of integral perfection involves two imperatives: faith in the revelation as the Divine Word subsisting eternally in God and miraculously entering into time, faith in His messen-

gers, the prophets who received this uncreated Word and transmitted it to men. These two are the two essentials for the operation of the ultimate salvation of man. The revelation is thus described in the Qurʾān: "A light from God has come, indeed, unto you and an evident Book, whereby God guides those who follow His good pleasure in the paths of peace. He leads them out of darkness into light by His will and guides them into the right path." (Surah v. 15-16).

As for the Prophet, he is the recipient of the Divine Word and is closely involved in the salvation of man because he possesses in truth a Divinely saving function (il possède réellement une fonction salvatrice divine). The Prophet in his role as redeemer, is Truth, Light and merciful Presence. He is Truth. "How will God guide a people who disbelieve after believing and have borne witness that the messenger was true?" (Surah iii. 86) (French has "truth" for "true". *Ḥaqq*) He is Light: "A light from God is come to you... and a bringer of good tidings." (Surah xxxiii. 45-46) "... and a lamp that gives light." Finally, the Prophet is the compassionate Presence which safeguards from the chastisement of the Divine wrath: "While you were among them God would not punish them." (Surah viii. 33) and: "We have not sent thee save as a mercy unto all peoples." (Surah xxi. 107). So important is the role of the Prophet in man's salvation that he has the right of intercession before God for the sinner: "If those who wronged themselves had come to thee and sought forgiveness of God and if the apostle also had asked forgiveness for them, they would truly have found God relenting and merciful." (Surah iv. 64).

ISLAM, THE FINAL FORM OF REVELATION

The ultimate salvation of man and the attainment of his true destiny depend entirely upon revelation, as we have just seen. In Muslim eyes, Islam offers itself as the last Divine message, as the one that contains within itself all aspects of revelation through the centuries. It is thus the faith which can fully actualise perfection and offer the means to final deliverance. We must now attempt to define its essential nature and its universal import.

Before all else Islam is a particular relation between man and God. Let us indicate further the nature of this relation emphasising the two poles that constitute it. Historically Islam came into being with an Arab founder, Muḥammad. But if Islamic faith is bound up with a particular occasion or event, the messenger, nevertheless — and this is most important — is to be understood as effaced in his message. Christians and Jews are bound up with historical fact, with Christ, Judas, even if these personages have at the same time become the ground of symbolic meanings. What characterises Islam, in relation to these two religions, is that the universal enters into its very vocation.

The term *Islām* is derived from the verb *aslama*, to give entrust or surrender oneself freely. The very structure of this word involves

an act of surrender: it has to do with conscious submission and complete surrender. The word also involves an act of entrustment, a commitment: it means: 'I give you not simply myself but also everything that has been entrusted to me'. I am therein set free and my conscience is set at peace. But what precisely is it that I give, and to whom? The Qur^{ān} replies that this gift is made to God (Surah ii. 131: lx. 66: and vi. 71.) It is to God that one submits, to a Reality beyond man. And what does the believer give? He surrenders 'his face' to God, that is the totality of his being, since the face represents the whole man (Surah ii. 113 iii. 20 and xxxi. 22). It is thus that Islam both as a term and as a confession is seen to be a universal calling.

Every being is *muslim* since it depends intrinsically and of necessity on this principle. This inward posture is at once logical and metaphysical. It is the sign of a total harmony. Nothing comes to disrupt it. Reflection and meditation show me clearly that I am *muslim* and that I cannot not be so.

On the other hand Islam is not simply a particular relationship between man and God. It is above all a relation of harmony that is full of love. *Allāh*, God, is derived from the term *Walah*⁵ meaning 'plenitude of love' the desire to give oneself. Creation is the outgoing of this love which is a full giving. Our *islām* is our response to this gift of love incarnate in His essence. The universe is a transcendent manifestation of the Divine plenitude and of God's giving of Himself. And beyond that, is the direct intervention of God through His messengers and His prophets. For revelation from God as finalised in the Word uncreated is nothing less than an act of entire love on God's part for the creature. For the faithful, Islam in turn becomes an act of recognition and of gratitude not only for the manifestation of the created world but also for the uncreated Word. Thus we find ourselves face to face with several senses of *islām*.

(1) Cosmic Islam. This is the entire universe as the expression of obedience to the first principle. It is one may say laid down by the fact of creation itself. Every created thing must necessarily be dependent upon the creative principle. (Surah xxiv. 41: xvii. 44 and lix. 24).

(2) Natural Islam. This relates to the human creature in his awareness of the existence of God. Human conscience expresses itself in recognition of law and the pursuit of the good. We find in the Qur^{ān} several allusions to both these kinds of Islam (Surah iii. 83). Salvation, it is clearly stated, is bound up with Islam. He who tries to evade or escape this submission, condemns himself. Everything makes its way ineluctably towards its salvation. Flowers by their very existence move to their fulfilment. Natural Islam, however, addresses itself also to beings endowed with intelligence and freedom. It is well to emphasise

⁵ Cf. Dictionnaire *Lisān al-ʿArab*, art. 'Ilāh' p. 358, tome xvii and Corbin. *Sympathie et theopathie chez les Fidèles d'Amour en Islam* in Eranos, Jahrbuch xxiv, 206.

two essential factors: the recognition by man of his dependence on the rule and his practice of the good. These two elements are essential in man's becoming a constructive element in harmony with society.

(3) Supernatural Islam. This is the final aspect. It is a matter not simply of recognising God as the supreme principle of creation and of being in harmony with the universe, but more than all it is a matter of accepting the uncreated manifestation of God, His act of love, His desire to communicate, His silent word, and for man to regulate human life on this heavenly pattern. (Surah xvi. 2, 102: xlii. 52).

Thus moving upwards from the *islām* of the flower to that of the saint, we rise harmoniously from stage to stage. What characterises supernatural Islam is the inward posture of man's soul in recognising this God-Love unto salvation. The entire gift of God revealing His Word and the entire gift of man fulfilling his *islām* are a true exchange and an ineffable encounter. The believer responds with his faith to the Divinely intervening love. He finds his life directed by the imperatives of this love of God. In this dimension, the creature has a real experience of God and is in effective possession of eternal life. It is thus we have access by God into the life of God.

If in the course of our life here below we are impeded from attaining our unitive destiny, we must yet pass through grievous experiences in the life beyond. For our ultimate end is God. We shall face these experiences when we are ourselves "in the eventide of life judged at love's bar."

THE STAGES OF REVELATION

The Qur'ān affirms that never from the time of the first man has God left humanity or abandoned it to its own devices. (Surah xxv. 24: ix. 78). The Divine revelation, that is to say, the direct, uncreated intervention of God, is a universal fact, no less than the ground and law of creation are. (Surah xiii. 38-39). Indeed the first man was also the first messenger (Surah iii. 33). The Qur'ān is quite clear about this intervention, both from the time of Abraham and back beyond it.

Before Abraham God unfailingly upheld humanity when it was plunged in darkness, through a sent-one who had intercourse with God through revelation and transmitted the will of Heaven to human beings. (Surah xiv. 4: xxi. 25). What is especially striking must be underlined here, namely that the Qur'ān never gives to these envoys the title of *Nabī* or prophet, with the exception of Enoch (Surah xix. 56). Nor does it give the name of *Kalām* (Divine word) to the communication received by them. At all events, there is no question in their case of an angelic visitation. The Qur'ān terms their message *wahy* (revelation — Surah xxii. 109: xvi. 43: xxi. 7) and defines them as *Rasūl* or *Nadhīr* (Surah xi. 25: xxvi. 115: xxxiv. 34).

With Abraham, the economy and the character of this encounter between God and man takes another form. There occurs a progression and a movement towards a new stage. Abraham is visited by an angel

(Surah xi. 69, 74, 75). Angels speak to him in the name of His God. Abraham himself is put to the test of the Divine Word and passes it perfectly (Surah ii. 124). God makes him the father or Imām of nations. (Surah ii. 124). It is thus that from the time of Abraham the revelation becomes a dialogue and an obedience. It is not a subjective event but a victory, a reality. From now on we find a family inaugurated, a community (Surah iv. 25). Abraham is the father of nations — a unique fact in religious history. A truly Divine community is born, with a father who is an intimate friend of God (Surah iv. 125), safeguarded by the angels. Heaven draws ever nearer to humanity.

A new departure marks the coming of Moses who receives the Word of God in its substantiality (Surah iv. 164: vii. 143). This time it is God Himself and no longer merely an angel who speaks. Moses inaugurates the Law which is none other than this community established and constituted in a body. (Surah vii. 145). The children of Israel are aware of this high calling and the Qurʾān confirms it. (Surah ii. 47, 122: vii. 140). However, it is for humanity in its entirety to realise its destiny and not Israel alone. Every time the Qurʾān refers to the privilege granted to Abraham and his seed it equally emphasises that the true lineage of Abraham is spiritual (Surah ii. 124: xiv. 65). Abraham, then, appears not merely as a historical person but also as a symbol and sign, that one day through its development humanity will come to the proper and authentic form of the Abrahamic community, bound together, not by flesh and blood, but by the Spirit. (Surah iii. 95: xxii. 78).

With Christ, we find ourselves face to face with a new stage again and a mighty development in the progress and march of revelation, in the relation, that is to say, of God with humanity. Christ is presented in the Qurʾān as the Word of God, His Spirit and the Messiah (Surah iii. 45: iv. 171), although the Qurʾān affirms at the same time that he is a servant of God. (Surah lxi. 6: iv. 171). The new aspect marking the appearance of the Word in the coming of Christ lies in the fact that Jesus, according to the Qurʾān, is really the Word of God and the Spirit of Holiness, while the preceding prophets were only simple messengers charged with transmitting to men the will of heaven.

It is very clear that with Christ, the Divine Word is not present only in the form of a law written or of a command transmitted, as was earlier the case with the Law of Moses, but reveals itself as man, sharing the whole reality of humanity and man's conditions of life. The acts of Christ, the events of his life, consequently possess a limitless value for the salvation of man and his final destiny.

THE MARCH OF THE SPIRIT

The Qurʾān shows in symbol the ascent of man towards ultimate perfection in four stages, each of which corresponds to an upward movement:

(1) God enlarges man's heart, that revelation may be accessible to him and that the intelligence of faith may enter his life (Surah vi. 125: xxxix. 22 *Sharh al Şadr*).

(2) God directs the faithful one on the road He has marked out for him. (Surah xxii. 24, 54: xxiv. 46. *Al-Hidāyah ilā-l-Şirāt al Mus-taqīm*).

(3) God not only directs the faithful one but sustains him unfailingly through the vicissitudes of his earthly life (Surah viii. 10: xiii. 28 *Li taţma'inna bihi qulūbukum*).

(4) Finally God having opened the heart of the believer directs and sustains him in the narrow way through his life long, bringing him to inner quietness of soul. At this stage comes the descent of the beatific Presence in light. (Surah xlviii. 4, 18: ix. 26 *Al-Sakīnah*). As the tradition has it, he who comes to this stage, is one who through and in God, sees, hears, lives and acts. His life is a complete union with his Saviour, by means of the grace that is expressed in Faith, Love and Knowledge.

Al Azhar, and Toumliline, Morocco

UTHMĀN YAḤYĀ.

THE EXODUS: AN EGYPTIAN VIEW.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The paper below, by Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain, of Cairo, and author of *Qaryah Zālimah*¹ (a notable study of some aspects of the crucifixion of Jesus), is taken by permission from his *Mutanawwri'āt* (Miscellany)² and deals with the Exodus as the formative event in the shaping of the Jewish mind and spirit. It is translated and reproduced here in connection with the recent appearance of the English version of his *Qaryah Zālimah*, in which there is an Appendix, kindly contributed by the author at the translator's request. The request arose out of a certain perplexity over the belief he expressed there that, in Christianity, a pervading sense of sin, suffering and self-reproach exists, which takes its origin in the 'failure' of the disciples to come to the rescue of Jesus when He was taken prisoner and condemned to the Cross.

This puzzle, which is fully dealt with in the translator's Introduction and footnotes to *Qaryah Zālimah*, arises from the fact that the non-rescue of Jesus stemmed from deliberate and unmistakeable directives from the Master Himself. Since it was not a duty there could be no question of a dereliction of duty in abstaining from it. Rather, though it apparently involved cowardice and lack of heroism, it corresponded in its submissiveness and its refusal of vengeance, to the essential structure of the Kingdom of Heaven. Thus the characteristic Christian conviction of sin takes its rise, not from the non-rescue of the Master, but from the realisation of "the sin of the world" mirrored and measured in the general rejection of Christ. Dr. Ḥusain's own work eloquently and movingly depicts and analyses this will to have Christ crucified. The Christian conscience, acknowledging its participation in the humanity by whose wrongness the Cross is reared, learns to cry "God be merciful to me, the sinner," not out of remorse that it did not become violent for Christ, but that, with its fellow men, it became violent against Him.

Dr. Ḥusain, however, in the Appendix mentioned, maintains his view that the anguish the disciples suffered in foregoing any rescue of Christ and in leaving Him in the hands of implacable foes without even a gesture of aid (save Peter's abortive sword-slashing), must have left an indelible scar on their souls. He holds that this is the origin of the Christian pre-occupation with sin and penitence. The matter is not affected by the thought of the Saviourhood of Christ or of atonement

¹ Cairo, 1954, English translation, with Introduction and footnotes by Kenneth Cragg, Djambatan, Amsterdam, 1959, under the title: *City of Wrong, a Friday in Jerusalem*. See also *The Muslim World*, vol. xlv, 2 & 3, April and July, 1956, pp. 132-143 and 225-236.

² Cairo, n.d. pp. 27-38. The version here by the same translator.

and redemption. For these understandings lay in the future. They could not, therefore, have affected, still less have mitigated, the disciples' anguish about their 'failure' to act. "Is it not possible", he asks "that such effects can be inherited? The best Christian in his most sublime moments is a sad man" ³. The Christian Church, then, has this fundamental nature burned into its soul by history and event: its sense of human sinfulness is transmitted from its infancy when the disciples failed (not to stand by Jesus in death but) to deliver Him forcibly from His captors.

In sustaining this analysis Dr. Ḥusain remarks that his study of the Christian mind followed earlier investigations into the souls of cultures or peoples and adds that his first ventures in this field had to do with the Jews. The idea, he tells us, came to him from Sigmund Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* — the idea that the psychological complexes of whole races might be constituted by some critical event in their infancy which left a major stress, or trauma, in their mentality. Clearly that event in Israel's case, was the Exodus. The essence of the Exodus is escape from certain annihilation by a supernatural miracle, and between that experience and fundamental Jewish psychology there is a direct causative relation.

This thesis on Jewry and the Exodus is here offered in English not only for its inherent interest as a contemporary Egyptian Muslim thinker's analysis but for its relation to possible corresponding analyses of the characteristically Islamic *psyche*. On this Dr. Ḥusain remarks very briefly in the Appendix referred to as follows: "I believe that the corresponding crucial event in the history of Islam, which affected the mentality of Muslims in a similar manner, was the little skirmish at Badr... On that day Islam came into the open and developed high-handedly with a good deal of pride. Had the Muslims let their Prophet die at the hands of Quraish without striking a blow for his safety, the history of Islam would probably have been identical with that of Christianity, growing through submission, humility and heroic resistance to persecution" ⁴.

It may be the author will develop further and illustrate in depth this allusion to the Islamic temper. Or, if it is to be as frankly drastic as his own estimate of the Jewish soul, perhaps an outsider must do it? Meanwhile, the Exodus essay follows. The translator permits himself the luxury of an occasional footnote comment.

³ *City of Wrong*, *op. cit.* p. 224.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 224. That the Day of Badr was formative and definitive is very clear from the Qurʾān's own reference to it as Yaum al-Furqān, the day of the criterion, when, by this signal intervention, God plainly 'discriminated' against the Quraish and on behalf of the minority group of Muḥammad's followers. Surah viii. 29 and 42.

A SUPERB STORY : ⁵ THE EXODUS AND THE HEBREW MIND

"We delivered you while the house of Pharaoh we drowned before your eyes". (Surah ii. 50).

I imagine that not even the most ardent lovers of Jewry or even the Jewish people themselves can deny that Jews have a quite unique mentality and a temper quite distinct from that of all other peoples. Not even their most eager champions can claim that they are well-beloved or that their life among the nations has been normal or natural. The disasters that have befallen them for two thousand years ⁶, the perpetual persecution and dispersion they have endured the world over in various periods and at the hands of a variety of nations — all go to show unmistakably that the Jews have characteristics that, to put it mildly, are clearly abnormal.

From of old, people have been perplexed how to understand what one cannot but call the defects of Jewry. It is actually no easy matter for us to comprehend the secret of the Jewish mind. For it is a surprising amalgam of contradictory elements. You find them gentle in temper and extremely sensitive: they lavish kindness on the individual who is sick or poor, or on a child, and yet show themselves unrelentingly hard-hearted over the poverty of thousands that may be occasioned in their pursuit of wealth. They are of all peoples the most resolutely patient in adversity and submissive under tyranny. But when they are in the position of enjoying sympathy or power their hearts become very hard and they seem to lack all sense of responsibility to others.

I do not think I do them an injustice when I say that anyone of them will weep and wail in heart-brokenness at the sight of his brother's suffering, yet this fact will not divert him from seeking profit by any means he can from that shedding of brothers' blood ⁷. They are the most sensitive of people and most alert to spiritual significance. Yet

⁵ The literalism "The Best of Stories" though Quranic would hardly be good English here.

⁶ It is not quite clear why this figure is chosen.

⁷ The author here has a footnote which reads: "Did they not seek to turn to profit their own slaughter and tribulation at the hands of the Nazis and the resultant compassion of world opinion towards them, not to lighten the woes of the persecuted, but for the establishment of a Jewish state, which was a political gain having nothing to do with Nazi tortures? Is not this in a way exploiting the shed blood of their brethren?"

But is not this remark strangely blind? How else could an inclusive and abiding solution to those woes be found? The Jewish people are in no way the only ones to seek, and strive to find, security via statehood. This was the basic instinct of original Islam in which the Medinan statehood answered the Meccan persecution. One may also recall the strange remark of Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana in his *Autobiography*: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added unto you". This tragic misquotation of the Sermon on the Mount is one that most human history makes, for the illusion is widespread that spiritual and cultural securities must be political. Is it fair to suspect that Arab consequences of Israeli statehood, understandably enough, affect the analysis in question?

for all that they go to lengths of actual materialism that disturb every one but themselves.

It is as if by nature every Jew has two streams in his soul — one bitter water and the other sweet, and they both flow in the one person but do not mingle. The good of the one does not overcome the foulness of the other. Whereas most men reveal the best that is in them when adversity afflicts them, the Jew shows only his worst.

As I see it, the explanation of this phenomenon is not far to seek. It is made evident in a most impressive manner in the story of the Exodus. Of no other nation is the soul so accurately discernible as is the Hebrew soul in this narrative, not merely in its general pattern but in all its related incidents both small and great. Even those who do not believe that the story represents historical fact — and they are a very few of the customarily atheistical and sceptical — will not fail to note that this story with all its contents, whether historical event or literary creation, mirrors the Jewish ethos most faithfully. With its superb combination, as literature, of literary genius, historical events and psychological experience, it makes a most vital and powerful unity. Indeed in my view the very fidelity with which it depicts the Jewish spirit is the strongest possible proof for its historicity. For it may well be a task beyond human capacity to invent a story of such power in the telling, about the soul of a nation, and to have it lose none of its convincingness today.

It is narrated in the story of the Exodus of the Jewish people from Egypt that they were in dire danger of death, indeed within a hairbreadth of it. Then they were delivered by a supernatural deliverance. It was these events which fashioned the Hebrew mind. Here there came into being those peculiar qualities that explain their astonishing character.

It would have been better for them had they not come face to face like that with death. It would have been better, too, had they not all been saved, or had they been delivered without a miracle; had they, for example, given battle with their enemy, so that some had fallen and some come through unscathed. However, as it was, they experienced, within a very few moments, both deathly despair and total salvation. Their enemy was utterly destroyed while they stood watching without stirring a hand. It was all this which brought into being within them an attitude and temper such as no other people have at any time come to possess.

It is just this close proximity to death, so that they almost felt it was actually upon them, which more than any other factor, destroys mental and psychological equilibrium. I am reminded of that by what happened to Dostoevsky when he and his comrades were condemned to execution. Their eyes were bandaged and the soldiers stood with rifles pointed at their hearts. The priest read the last prayers over them and then, at that moment, came the messenger with the news that the

Czar had pardoned them. One of them went mad with the very terror of what happened. It is better for a man that he should not escape from it, if once death has come so oppressively upon him as almost to have destroyed him. Escape in such circumstances is a worse evil than dying. There have been people so terrified by the mortal danger around them who, though they have overcome it, nevertheless live the rest of their lives victims of their own rescue. There are others who in the effort to save themselves expend such exertions as outdo their strength and who remain prisoners, as it were, of their own deliverance. Such as these are in a case far worse than those who are victims of death or languish in disappointment. It happened in the case of another Russian who saw his brother hanged before his eyes. The scene remained perpetually with him to the end of his days and had the profoundest effect upon him. But it did not shatter him or leave him a psychological wreck. The man in question was Lenin, of whom it was said that after what he had seen his heart was steeled and every trace of compassion in his bosom was petrified. Had his brother been saved from death after having had the noose round his neck, both men would have undergone a completely shattering upheaval. It is absolutely essential to men's inner life of the soul that the struggle they have in surmounting their adverse experiences or in pursuit of salvation from them should be such as both victim and rescued can reasonably endure. Otherwise, even salvation or deliverance is a calamity. It has been said that some nations who were successful in destroying a powerful enemy, or in overcoming some great geographical hardship and in doing so were obliged to make fiercely strenuous efforts, suffered in consequence a most unnatural state of mind which led to a sort of paralysis in their inner life, because of what they underwent. It was said of the people of Sparta that they overtaxed themselves in their wars against their neighbours to an extent that made their victories over them a ruinous thing from which they never found release as long as their state lasted.

The trial which befell the Jews in those moments prior to deliverance exhausted all the strength they had, indeed perhaps it utterly undermined their mentality. Its fierce anguish was intensified by the fact that they were exposed to certain death, and not merely to defeat. It was as if the springs of life dried up within them and it were irreversibly decreed that they were to have a new temper in a fresh existence, on the ruins of a soul which terror had totally demolished.

The Jews crossed the Red Sea and then in their rear saw Pharaoh and his hosts follow in hot and angry pursuit against them. At that point they lost all hope of life. The blood froze in their veins and despair seized them in a complete paralysis of their vitality. Then came deliverance. But it would not have left in the Jewish mind those peculiar characteristics we note, had that deliverance of theirs not been a

supernatural event brought about by a miracle they had no idea could occur.

At that moment the children of Israel became a nation brought together into one by a single experience and that a bitter experience. It is, therefore, not surprising that they should have emerged a nation apart, for nations are not usually constituted by such events. The evolution of nations generally proceeds by slow adaptation in the course of centuries between the human spirit and the natural habitat. But it did not come about that way with the Jews. Their national ethos was fashioned on a sudden, without this inter-action between the nation and the motherland. It is for this reason that they have no motherland and no historical genesis of which one could in any sense say that it was natural⁸. Nor do I mean here by 'motherland' merely a place in which to have one's abode, but only a place within which their temper could grow and with which their development could be linked. They resemble in this those plants which scientists try to cultivate in water by chemical processes with no soil in which their roots grow. Such plants are like natural ones without being natural. In the same way the Jews resemble the nations without their having comparable mentality.

What makes the story all the more impressive is that all the antecedents to the deliverance had intensified the despair of the children of Israel, so that at the moment of their salvation they were utterly without hope, while everything subsequent to the drowning of Pharaoh and his company increased their hope and their faith in the supernatural order of events. This faith grew to such a pitch with them that they imagined the sun standing still on their behalf, while they got the victory over their enemy. It is this violent transition from the disaster with which they had to contend, to a complete confidence in the future on the further side of their deliverance, which explains the particular mental, psychological and moral traits of the Jewish people.

The Egyptians oppressed and ill-treated them before the Exodus because they were a nation of sojourners and the Egyptians at that time were strongly set in their own territory and conquering their neighbours whom they drove before them into slavery like cattle after the manner of conquerors in that era. It was common in such enslavement that most slaves, other than the Jews, were exterminated. But the Jews were able to withstand oppression and persecution successfully. We know of no other people that sustained such persecution at any time anywhere as did the children of Israel. There was hardly a place in

⁸ Is the writer, in his eagerness for his thesis, not in danger of attributing over much to one event in the genesis of the Jewish people with insufficient sense of subsequent experiences in their collective soul? If the consciousness of having undergone a miraculous Exodus was always central and formative, it was an Exodus not only *from* but *to*. The positive, territorial nationhood, to which it was experienced as leading, surely remains part of its total significance?

their flesh which did not bear the scar of some old wound. No sooner was a wound healed, than it was re-opened by fresh events. Yet for all that, they did not succumb and disappear. The persecution rather resulted in their withdrawing into themselves and surrounding themselves with a defensive hedge of seclusion, within which they maintained unimpaired their physical and temperamental characteristics.

The secret of their genius in withstanding tyranny was their knowledge of passive resistance. They had an unprecedented capacity for taking things patiently. Oppression generates in men the passive virtues: it creates patience, a capacity for cunning and shrewdness. But many of the positive virtues it atrophies, such as courage, generosity, bravery and sacrifice. There was no question of the Jews rebelling against their oppressors, for they were strangers in the land and could not but fail in any revolt they might stage. For rebellion can only 'hold' when there is a favourable climate of thought, giving the individual confidence that his own feelings of anger are generally shared, and with the sure conviction that without prior arrangement all the people will join in with him. Moreover, the motive of revolt must have at least some power at its disposal, so that, with this confidence, there may also be generated the assurance that even should it remain an isolated thing the sacrifice would be adequate for the end in view. But the Jews of Egypt had no such possibilities at their disposal. There was no way of rebelling open to them. There were in fact only two courses they could take, either to let themselves be slowly exterminated or to resist oppression with patience and endurance. Thus they inaugurated the greatest experiment in history of withstanding tyranny by the way of patient resistance. Their success in this policy was unparalleled.

Oppression taught them extreme caution. We all remember what Moses did in the bloom of his youth. "And he who was of his party asked his help against the enemy and Moses struck him a blow and killed him," (Surah xxviii. 15), as we read in the Qur'ān. But the Bible adds a further significant detail. For we find in the Old Testament that before Moses struck the enemy, he turned around and reassured himself that nobody saw him — as if the Hebrew instinct would not conceivably allow a Jew to be seized with passion or chivalrous pride, prompting him to intervene and save his brother or assert a right, without his first glancing around to see there was no danger to him in such a proceeding.

Thus did they continue many years, while oppression did its work with their character and deprived them of all that could feasibly have stirred them to save themselves from it. Their only possible remaining way of escape lay in their getting a leader of a different temper than their own who would lead them into the path of deliverance. Such a one came in Moses, a powerful, unbending man, who would have no truck with oppression and injustice. It is not important to know whether

Moses was, as popularly supposed, one of their own number, or whether he was an Egyptian, one of the followers of Akhnaton and a rebel against the religion of his people, in the certainty of the Divine unity, as Freud tried to establish in his book on the subject. What is important to us is that he had not been reared as they had, nor did he share their character. He had not been inured to patience and endurance. He had been reared in fine style in Pharaoh's house and in Midian had breathed the air of freedom. Returning to Egypt, he found this persecuted, prostrated community, cowed and cowering. He wanted to lead them forth out of these abodes. But none of them would listen to him. They refused to obey him. They possessed absolutely no incentive to rebellion, nor were they in any state of preparedness for it. When Moses launched his campaign, he was well able to appreciate the impossibility of success apart from the vigour of his faith and his strength of spirit — for so God had willed for him.

It may well be that the miracles of Moses were not for the purpose of convincing Pharaoh of his being a prophet and of the majesty of his God. Rather they were to assure the Jews themselves that Moses had behind him a power greater than that of the Egyptians. Miracles frighten tyrants and strengthen the victims of oppression to hold on. The Jews were in need of many miracles before any of them were fully persuaded. The Bible tells how Moses came with a miraculous sign and Pharaoh was convinced and promised Moses that he would let the children of Israel go. Then he hardened his heart and went back on his opinion. Whereupon Moses wrought another miracle for him and Pharaoh again gave them leave to depart and then retracted it. Thus the miracles succeeded each other while the Jews continued to be perplexed. Perhaps there were some of them not susceptible to persuasion by miraculous signs. For swarms of lice and frogs and a plague of blood would not have prevented the Egyptians from making an end of them had they revolted. Thus the final miracle lay in that Moses was able to destroy the firstborn both of men and beasts and thereby the Jews knew that he had the power of death over any of his enemies whenever he should so desire and should exert his will. Then they were ready to take their departure with him. They did not go with light hearts and heads erect, buoyed with high hopes and the faith that levels mountains. On the contrary. Moses led them in their Exodus in spite of themselves. Their apprehension and fear of miscarriage were intensified by the fact that they were moving from a known tyranny towards an unknown end and this is always the worst spectre that confronts the persecuted: they cannot bear the unknown. In fact they said to Moses: 'Was not remaining in Egypt despite the calamities we suffered better for us than this exposure to unknown terrors?' One of the most characteristic features of servitude is man's acquiescence in his actual condition, his preference for it over any hope about which he is left in dubiety. .

That night the Jews contrived to cheat themselves, their upbringing, their mentality and they accepted exodus with Moses out into the broad expanse of desert eastward from the Nile. Those who roam in those deserts know well the sense of peace and tranquillity that kindles in them at the sight of the clear skies and wide stretching plain on moonlit nights. But the Jews were at the farthest possible remove from such tranquillity and peace. Their spirits as they went forth were well-nigh paralysed with fear, despair and doubt. They went out burdened with the guilt of deception of their neighbours which their leaders had enjoined on them, when they brought away borrowed silver and gold, taken from the Egyptians in bad faith and evil intent. This circumstance was not calculated to increase their assurance of success in their flight, nor were their apprehensions lightened by thought of the ease with which they could be overtaken, when Pharaoh discovered his error in letting himself be intimidated when it was so inappropriate that he should be.

The Jews had no intimate experience of common participation in a single venture under one man's command and motivated by one common sentiment. They could not yet appreciate the worth of such unity, unfamiliar as they were with it. That indeed may have been one of the very reasons for their unnerved condition. Fugitives are not seldom of all people the most agitated even in circumstances far less exceptional than those of the Jews in their Hijrah.

Necessarily there must have been among this throng sick and infirm people, feeble women folk and children and others so overborne with travel-weariness that they could endure no more. Their humane feelings must have been strained to breaking point and to many a one of them it must have been overwhelmingly painful to see those dearest to him, the weakest among the people and those with the greatest claim upon compassion, falling exhausted, and to be compelled none the less to leave them behind, lest the whole cavalcade should be courting disaster. There raged in their souls that most terrible of all trials — the necessity of sacrificing tender sympathies in order to stay alive. These are natural feelings when the danger to life is real and actual. But the Jews have become accustomed to such a state of mind that they fall into excessive fear at any and every danger coming their way. They let their panic justify their abandonment of all human compassionateness in the hour of fear, as if their whole life has come to be identical with that single night of exodus.

Fugitives are the most tenacious people in clinging to possessions. I have myself witnessed a woman who in flight became almost beside herself when a bag was taken from her in which were all her possessions — few as they were. Nor was she calmed down by the kindly tender attitude of people around her, who put her precious bag where it would be secure from theft. These things did nothing to restore her self-possession and only when, out of fear for her life, we returned

the bag to her, did she recover her right mind. There is no doubt that such incidents were very frequently enacted that night. How could such a flight, in which everything making for soul distress came with cumulative pressure upon the Jews, feasibly be an occasion of self-possessed tranquillity?

Then there occurred the event which totally upset the Jewish mentality, namely their deliverance and the drowning of Pharaoh. And, for all the impression which this leap of fortune left in their souls carrying, as it did, the children of Israel from the depths of despair to the very heights of hope, the most potent element in the deforming of Jewish temper was the fact that the means were supernatural, by an unexplained miracle. The loss of relation between cause and effect is a catastrophic evil for the human mind.

For it became a fixed conviction of Jewish minds that it was solely their Jewishness which accounted for their deliverance and they came constantly to expect that their Jewishness would take care of their success. The story substantiated such a belief, since it offered no other reason for their deliverance than that they were the children of Israel.

So characteristically they run to extremes both in despair and expectancy. When they are oppressed they cry out, reckoning that injustice will be to the worst possible degree. When they prosper they cherish goals for their success that no natural or man-made laws can justify. The story of the Exodus has taught them that their prosperity comes about only by the destruction of their adversary, without effort on their part. Thus they have in their make-up no forbearance, chivalry, gallantry or magnanimity. For these are qualities or moral graces for which their history has not conditioned the Jews. There is in their mentality a degree of severity and a hardness not conducive to the development of such characteristics in their disposition.

After their deliverance they were excessively given to these attitudes, losing all proportion. It was not surprising that there should have developed in them this kind of extreme, sub-conscious assertiveness. It is a hidden psychological sickness within them, and though it may not always show its effects openly, its inward traces become apparent none the less, and you find them even in the least and weakest of them as a force and a stimulus. There is no Jew who really understands that the best thing life holds is to live yourself and provide a context in which others around you may live too ⁹.

The sequel of their story after the Exodus proves equally expressive

⁹ Does the inclusive sweep of this verdict not confirm the reader in an impression, which has been growing as he reads, that this reconstruction lays far too much store by a single episode, albeit formative? It is certainly sharply contrasted with the same author's careful refusal, in analysing the passions and motives behind the event of Good Friday, to accept any explanation that pillories one race without also incriminating all humanity. (see *City of Wrong*, Intro. pp. xiv-xix). Perhaps there is more hope in examining the *psyches* in which peoples are one, rather than those in which they are, allegedly, unique.

of their temper as the event of salvation itself. The psychological disorder in which they found themselves when they followed Moses into Sinai led them to create something on which they could depend. They instigated themselves into making a calf in which they could believe. Then they turned away from it and believed in the covenant written on tablets by the hand of God ¹⁰. The Jews still hold in veneration those covenants which prove profitable to them.

My primary objective in this discussion is not to portray the blemishes of the Jewish spirit: I only desire to show how psychological analysis in the case of the Jews indicates that the story of the Exodus depicts them most faithfully. And it is a delineation which lies, not only in terms or meanings, but in the very events. It is this which makes it one of the most suggestive stories in all history ¹¹.

It remains for us to ask ourselves how nations transmit their peculiar traits. The transmission of individual, physical acquired characteristics is a great conundrum of biological science. Transmission of psychological traits in individuals is still more perplexing and difficult to understand. But transmission of psychological characteristics in communities is a matter on which we have no available data at all that conceivably will yield an explanation for us. Though there is no denying the actuality, there is also no explaining it ¹².

Cairo, Egypt.

MUHAMMAD KAMIL HUSAIN

¹⁰ It may be remarked, though, that this is a very Islamic proceeding. Islam was precisely an invitation to abandon idolatrous objects of trust and to rely solely on the literary assurance of a God of righteous law Who would vindicate and prosper those who entrusted themselves to Him and His will.

¹¹ Here the author has a note which reads: "See my remarks on literary characterisation in the first article". This is on "The Qur'ān" in *Mntanawwi'āt*, *op. cit.* pp. 1-26, esp. p. 17 f. in which Dr. Husain discusses the Qur'ān as a mirror and epitome of the Arab spirit.

¹² Perhaps of equal complexity and yet more importance than the question of transmission is that of transformation. It seems a melancholy reflection that "as things have been they remain"; especially if we should be ready to concede the truth of the analysis, and the more so in that its crucial event-criterion is between three and three and a half thousand years away. Is there some danger, and perhaps even some exoneration of nearer responsibilities (both in time and place), in locating so remotely and apparently so inexorably the characteristics and reactions of a section of mankind? Is there possibly some psychological stress or strain behind even our judgement of psychological stresses? The great merit and eloquent wisdom of Dr. Husain's book on Good Friday is that his judgements of human blemishes, while particular in their occasions, are universal in their scope. Whatever may or may not be said about the human idiosyncrasies fashioned at the Exodus, the sins demonstrated in the Cross are universal in their nature and there can be no honesty about them which is not self-incriminating.

THE ROLE OF DAMASCUS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES

The impact of modern Israel and the Arab states upon each other reminds us of a somewhat similar collision of interests between the crusaders from western Europe and the Muslims of the Near East eight and a half centuries ago. Then as now an overseas people came in and established themselves upon the western shores of Asia. Although a minority they succeeded in each case partly because of their military strength and partly because of divisions among the peoples of the land. In spite of this unpromising beginning a *modus vivendi* was quickly established between the crusaders, or Franks as they were called, and the Muslims of Syria. The best example of this was the relationship between the Turkish lords of Damascus and the Franks which lasted for slightly more than half a century or as long as Damascus was independent. Let us examine the history of Damascus during this time ¹.

The city of Damascus, the capital of the Republic of Syria until

¹ The most important original source of information for the history of Damascus in the first half of the 12th century is Ibn-al-Qalānisi, *Dhail ta'rikh Dimashq* (extracts tr. and ed. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London, 1932). A number of other sources may be found in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (publié par les soins de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 16 vols. in fol., Paris, 1841-1906), particularly in two series: *Historiens orientaux: Arabes* (5 vols., 1872-1906); and *Historiens occidentaux* (5 vols., 1841-1895), respectively cited *RHC, Or.* and *RHC, Occ.* Among the Arabic sources are Ibn-al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fi-l-Ta'rikh* (extracts in *RHC, Or.*, I, 187-744); *idem*, *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul* (*RHC, Or.*, II, ii); Kamāl-ad-Dīn, *Zubdat al-halab fi ta'rikh Halab* (extracts in *RHC, Or.*, III, 577-690); and Sibṭ Ibn-al-Jauzī, *Mir'at al-samān* (extracts in *RHC, Or.*, III, 517-570). The principal Latin sources are Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913); Albert of Aix, *Liber christianae expeditionis* (*RHC, Occ.*, IV, 265-713); and William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*RHC, Occ.*, I). William's work has been translated and annotated by Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey, in *History of Deeds done beyond the Sea: by William, Archbishop of Tyre* (Columbia University, Records of Civilization, 2 vols., New York, 1943). It will be cited by book and chapter.

The principal secondary works cited in this study are *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, to be published in five volumes by the University of Pennsylvania Press: Vol. I, *The First Hundred years*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Philadelphia, 1955), cited Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: Vol. I, The First Crusade and the Founding of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*; Vol. II, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100-1187* (Cambridge, 1951-1952); René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Haut-Commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban, service des antiquités et des beaux-arts, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, tome IV, Paris, 1927); Philip K. Hitti, *History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine* (New York, 1951); Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940); René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem: tome I, L'Anarchie musulmane et la monarchie franque; tome II, Monarchie franque et anarchie musulmane: l'équilibre* (Paris, 1934-1935); William B. Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907); Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898).

its merger with the United Arab Republic on February 1, 1958, is located about fifty-five miles southeast of Beirut and east of two mountain ranges. In this latitude the western range is called the Lebanon, the intermountain valley Al-Biqā' and the eastern range the Anti-Lebanon. Both ranges rise in places to over eight thousand feet above sea level and to as much as four thousand feet above the valley floor. Indeed majestic Mount Hermon, twenty-five miles southwest of Damascus, soars to 9,383 feet above the level of the sea. The Barada River, originating on the western or rainy side of the Anti-Lebanon, cuts eastward through a gorge onto a plain, Al-Ghūṭah, which forms an oasis on which Damascus is located. The river waters are used to irrigate orchards producing figs, grapes, olives, dates, citrus fruits, almonds, walnuts, pistachio nuts and pomegranates and fields which grow wheat, barley and other grains and support livestock. Ten miles south the Nahr al-A'waj (anc. Pharpar), fed by the snows of Mount Hermon, waters another district before losing itself in the desert. A vast plateau, Al-Ḥaurān, sixty miles long and quite as wide, reaches Lake Tiberias to the south. This plain is watered by rains coming in through a low wind gap in the Galilean and Samaritan hills. Though treeless Al-Ḥaurān has long been famous for grain and livestock.

Syria, lying between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean and Iraq and Egypt, has since ancient times been a crossroads of commerce. Most east-west traffic went through Damascus or Aleppo and the north-south traffic through both, via Shayzar, Hamah, Ḥomṣ and Baalbek. Caravans to Damascus from the east usually came via Tadmor (Palmyra), a hundred and fifty miles to the northeast. Westward they passed through the Barada Gorge, up or down the central valley and over the appropriate pass to the sea. Southward one route crossed the Ḥaurān and Transjordan to Mecca with a branch to Egypt. Three shorter routes to Egypt ran through Palestine when political conditions permitted. One ran through Banyas (anc. Dan) north of Lake Huleh, one south of the lake and a third just south of Lake Tiberias. In medieval times Damascus shipped spices, drugs, silks, gems, and other luxury goods from the Far East to Europe via the Mediterranean ports. It added its own manufactures which were justly famous such as rugs, tapestries, cushions, fine fabrics in silk, linen, wool and cotton including damasks and brocades, also Damascus steel, glassware, gold and silver filigree, inlaid work in wood, brass, and copper. Today buses, trucks, and airplanes use these old routes while a railroad runs from Aleppo to Damascus and on to Naqb al-Ashtar in Jordan with a branch at Der'a into Palestine ².

Therefore Damascus in the time of the crusades was powerful and wealthy. It was protected by high mountains on one side and by the

² For the geography of this region consult Dussaud, *Topographie*, Chaps. iv-vi; Hitti, *Syria*, chaps. iv-v.

desert on the other. The mountains were studded with strongholds at strategic points. If an enemy succeeded in penetrating the Ghūṭah Plain he would still have to face the stout walls of the city manned by its abundant *ahdāth* or militia. Her people were gifted, proud of their traditions and staunch in their Islamic faith. Damascus alone was a good match for any of the crusader states.

The political situation in Syria when the crusaders arrived in the fall of 1097 was as follows. The Muslims were religiously divided in allegiance between two caliphs. One caliph, of the older or ʿAbbāsīd line, resided in Baghdad and the other, of the Fāṭimid line, lived in Cairo. The former was Sunni, recognizing as authoritative the *Sunnah* or six books of tradition developed in the second century after the Hijrah (622 A.D.). The latter was Shīʿah, denouncing the *Sunnah* and recognizing ʿAlī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, as his true successor. The Fāṭimid government had controlled most of Syria early in the 11th century but after 1078 had consolidated its power in Egypt. However, it maintained a bridgehead at Ascalon in southern Palestine and a tenuous control over the Shīʿah *qāḍīs* of most of the Syrian ports through commercial and naval influence.

But although most of Syria was Sunni in faith it was badly divided politically. Since 1055 the temporal authority of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs had been exercised by Turkish *sultans* of the Selchūk family. These sultans had extended their power into Syria as recently as 1070. It was their custom to assign cities and provinces to military chieftains to govern and from which to maintain troops. The soldiers were individually called *mamlūks*, collectively *askar* and were technically slaves of their master. The lords were entitled *atabeg*, *malik* if a member of the Selchūk family, or were less formally called *amīr* or *ṣāhib*. Like their feudal counterparts in western Europe these Turkish lords were tempted to become defiant and independent if opportunity permitted. And opportunity did permit when the powerful Sultan Malik-Shāh died in 1092. His brother and sons at once began quarreling over their immense inheritance extending from Khurasān (eastern Iran) into Anatolia.

Under these circumstances outer provinces such as Syria were neglected. Syria fell apart. Rīdvan, a nephew of Malik-Shāh, seized Aleppo; his younger brother Dukak secured Damascus in defiance of Rīdvan; and Yaghī-Sīyan, lord of Antioch, consolidated his power there. In addition there were smaller lordships such as that of the Arab family of the Banū-Munqidh at Shayzar on the Orontes River, the Shīʿah *qāḍīs* of the port towns, and the Turkish brothers Sokman and ʾIl-Ghāzī ibn-Artuk at Jerusalem. Dukak was guided by an ex-mamlūk, a Turk named Ḥaḥīr-al-Dīn Tughtigin, his stepfather and military advisor who as such bore the title of atabeg³.

³ Gibb (ed.), *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, pp. 14-40; *idem*, "The

When the crusaders laid siege to Antioch in October, 1097, Dukak was influenced by the following considerations. First he was regarded as a usurper by his elder brother Rīdvan and both were rivals for the allegiance of Yaghī-Sīyan of Antioch. Second, Dukak would not care to see the Selchūk sultan's authority re-established in Syria as that would limit or perhaps extinguish his own independence. This also meant that he would not care to see the sultan's *isfahsallār* or commander-in-chief, customarily the atabeg of Mosul, appear in Syria with a large army in behalf of a *jihād* or holy war. Third, Dukak and the other Muslim lords did not at first seem to recognize a new phenomenon in the First Crusade. As Cahen has remarked they were accustomed to fighting Christians, particularly Byzantines, and probably regarded the crusade as another invasion of a familiar kind. Apparently the Franks tried to foster this impression for the Arab chronicler Ibn-al-Athīr says: "The Franks during the siege of Antioch had written to the prince of Damascus (Dukak) to tell him that he could be reassured, that they wished (to conquer) only territory that had belonged to the Greeks and that they would respect (the integrity) of all the rest"⁴.

Under these circumstances Dukak and the other Turkish lords were slow to help Yaghī-Sīyan of Antioch. Dukak and Rīdvan tried it separately in December and in February but each was defeated. Not until June, 1098, did Kerbogha, Atabeg of Mosul, arrive at Antioch. According to Runciman this ambitious prince expected to brush aside the crusaders and seize Antioch and ultimately Aleppo for himself. Dukak sent a contingent to Kerbogha⁵. It is a little hard to see why he helped such a dangerous potentate. Probably Dukak felt he needed to be on good terms with Kerbogha if the latter took Antioch. He might profit at the expense of Rīdvan. Further Dukak had an inheritance in Iraq, viz., Diyār-Bakr⁶, which was vulnerable to reprisal by Kerbogha. But Dukak must have been relieved when Kerbogha went home after his disastrous defeat at Antioch, June 28. Twelve years passed before the government of Damascus assisted another atabeg of Mosul.

After the capture of Antioch Dukak allowed the crusaders to march past him and take Jerusalem. While the Franks were still besieging Antioch, Al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, the vizir of the Fāṭimid caliph at Cairo, proposed that the Franks and the caliph divide Syria, the Franks taking the north and the caliph the south⁷. So little did Al-Afḍal understand

Caliphate and the Arab States", Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I, 81-98; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 193-196.

⁴ Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: the Selchūkids", Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I, 166-167; *idem*, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 197-198; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC*, Or., I, 193.

⁵ Kāmal-al-Dīn, *ibid.*, III, 579-580; Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 42-43; Runciman, *Crusades*, I, 215. Consult Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, pp. 26-27.

⁶ Gibb (ed.), *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, p. 30.

⁷ Raymond of Agilles, *RHC*, Or., III, 277. See Tudebodus *Imitatus et Continuatus*, *ibid.*, pp. 181, 189-190; William of Tyre, IV, xxiv, VII, xix; Runciman, *Crusades*, I, 229-230; *idem*, "The First Crusade; Antioch to Ascalon", Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I, 316.

the nature of the crusade! When the Franks failed to agree Al-Afdal seized Jerusalem from two Turkish lords, the brothers Sokman and Il-Ghāzī ibn-Artuk, August 26, 1098. This threat of renewed Fāṭimid aggression in Syria gave Dukak more alarm than did the Franks. It explains why he gave Al-Afdal's Egyptian garrison no help when the Franks took Jerusalem on July 15, 1099. Dukak must, as Gibb says, have regarded the Franks in Jerusalem as a buffer against Egypt⁸. Therefore from the very beginning the government at Damascus accepted the Franks as neighbors in Syria. It was far more afraid of a resurgence of Fāṭimid imperialism from Egypt or of the entrance of the atabegs of Mosul into Syria to submerge all, including Damascus, in a great *jihād* against the Frankish unbelievers, than it was fearful of those unbelievers themselves. It felt that its survival depended upon a successful maintenance of the balance of power.

Only once in the decade that followed did the ruler of Damascus help the Egyptians at Ascalon. This was in 1105, when Tughtigin was in the process of usurping the rule at Damascus and when Baldwin I of Jerusalem was sheltering a disappointed heir of Dukak (d. 1104). Never in this period did the régime at Damascus assist the atabegs of Mosul, not even in 1104 when Atabeg Chökürmish defeated and captured Bohemund of Antioch and Baldwin II of Edessa at Harran and might have had their states at his mercy. Obviously the government of Damascus regarded Antioch and Edessa as buffers against both Aleppo and Mosul.

Damascus as a commercial city had the liveliest interest in the Syrian ports through which her exports reached Europe. She was also concerned with the grain fields, pasture lands, and trade routes of the Biqā' Valley to the west and the Ḥaurān Plateau to the south. It was the steady policy of Baldwin I of Jerusalem to secure control of the Syrian ports. He captured Arsuf and Caesarea in 1101, Acre and Jubail in 1104 and tried to take Sidon in 1106 and 1108 and Tyre in 1108. It was the policy of the Damascus government to co-operate with the Fāṭimid governors of such cities, often by diversionary operations against Baldwin's frontier with the Ḥaurān. In 1108 Tughtigin and Baldwin made a four-year truce which applied only to this area. They both wished to be free to contest control of the ports of the north, particularly Tripoli, under siege by the Provençal Franks from 1102 to 1109. Interesting evidence of the local nature of this truce is given by Ibn-al-Athīr who quotes a message from Baldwin to Tughtigin after the Frankish capture of Arqah near Tripoli early in 1109. "Do not think," he said, "that the reverse that you are sustaining gives me the temptation to violate the truce. Princes were exposed to strains more cruel than that which you have experienced. That does not prevent

⁸ "The Caliphate and the Arab States", *ibid.*, p. 97.

them from re-establishing their affairs and redressing their position.”⁹

In 1109-1110 the balance of power in Syria shifted strongly in favor of the Franks. In 1109 they took Tripoli and in 1110 Beirut and Sidon from their Shī‘ah governors. This gave the Franks possession of all the Mediterranean ports except Tyre and Ascalon, i.e., a stranglehold on Damascene commerce with Europe. Other blows followed. Immediately after the fall of Tripoli, Baldwin of Jerusalem forced Tughtigin to sign over one-third of the revenues in the Biqā‘ Valley. In 1111-1112 Baldwin made a formidable though futile effort to take the great port of Tyre. Ibn-al-Athīr, writing of the alarm occasioned by the fall of Sidon says: “The fear of the Muslims was extreme. Their hearts were in their throats. They believed the Franks were about to become masters of Syria since no one defended the country or wished to fight the enemy. The Muslim princes of Syria desired a truce from the Franks but the latter refused all terms except the payment of money and that for only a short term.”¹⁰

The Frankish offensive bred a great Muslim counter-crusade as Grousset calls it¹¹. Late in 1109 the Selchük Sultan Muḥammad sent out letters announcing a *jihād* to be led by Sharaf-al-Dīn Maudūd, the new Atabeg of Mosul. As a result Tughtigin assisted Maudūd to a limited extent in 1110 and 1111. Significantly in the latter year he hedged by conducting secret negotiations with King Baldwin I at the same time¹². In 1113 Tughtigin, suffering from raids in the Ḥaurān, invited Maudūd to help him in this area. Maudūd complied. In this campaign they stumbled into Baldwin’s army at the outlet of Lake Tiberias, June 28, and utterly defeated it.

For several weeks it looked like the end of the Frankish realm of Jerusalem. The whole country was open to plundering from end to end as the Muslim peasantry on the Frankish estates welcomed the Turkish soldiery. But with two exceptions the walled towns held out and King Baldwin was reinforced from Tripoli, Antioch, and by pilgrims from Europe. At length Maudūd and Tughtigin retired to Damascus. Maudūd dismissed his troops there but decided to stay in Damascus over the winter and prepare for a new holy war the next spring.

But Maudūd never campaigned again. He was murdered October 2 in the great mosque of Damascus while in the near presence of Tughtigin. Tughtigin’s guilt is a matter of debate but he must have been relieved at the death of his powerful ally. The Atabeg of Damascus would have been overshadowed in his own capital by a prolonged residence there of the sultan’s generalissimo¹³. Tughtigin wanted local

⁹ Ibn-al-Qalānisi, p. 92; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 269-270; Sibṭ., *ibid.*, III, 537.

¹⁰ For the Biqā‘ agreement see Ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 93, 106. For Ibn-al-Athīr see *RHC, Or.*, I, 278.

¹¹ *Croisades*, I, 467.

¹² Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 282.

¹³ Two authors have taken the position that Maudūd’s Sunni orthodoxy was

assistance by Maudūd, not the destruction of the Frankish states. The latter was Maudūd's avowed aim and was shown in 1113 to be alarmingly possible. The purposes of the two men were not the same and were bound to clash in the end.

Tughtigin, suspect in Iraq as a result of the circumstances of Maudūd's death, was compelled to look elsewhere for strength. He first sought it in Aleppo where early in 1114 he accepted an invitation to become the protector of Alp Arslān, the minor heir of Ridvan (d. 1113). But Tughtigin distrusted Alp Arslān and the plan fell through. He was again offered the protectorship of Aleppo that fall after Alp Arslān was murdered but he did not respond. Kamāl-al-Dīn of Aleppo sarcastically remarks: "The princes of the time wanted to prolong the occupation of the Frankish troops in order to maintain themselves in power." Next spring (1114) Tughtigin made a full settlement with Baldwin of Jerusalem. Ibn-al-Qalānisi writes: "Thus the roads and provinces were made safe, conditions became normal and produce became abundant."¹⁴ Hence Tughtigin gave no support to the *jihād* of 1114 led by another Atabeg of Mosul, Aksungur al-Bursūkī, and must have been relieved when it got no further than Edessa.

Nor did Tughtigin aid the holy war of 1115 led by Bursūk ibn-Bursūk of Hamadān. Instead he took up arms against it when Bursūk captured and plundered Hamah, halfway between Aleppo and Damascus and up to this time a dependency of Damascus. Bursūk's strength and ruthlessness alarmed all Syrians, Muslims as well as Franks. A remarkable coalition developed, made up of Lu'lu', the regent of Aleppo, ʿĪl-Ghāzī of Mardin in Iraq, Tughtigin, and three Frankish princes, Roger of Antioch, Baldwin I of Jerusalem, and Pons of Tripoli. It was the first clear example of Syrian solidarity, Frankish and Muslim, against an outsider.

Bursūk did not fight the troops of the coalition but withdrew. He reappeared a few days later at Dānīth thirty-five miles southwest of Aleppo. Here he was surprised and his army annihilated on September 14 by Roger of Antioch, successor to Tancred (d. 1112). This defeat was so great that the Selchūk sultans permanently gave up hope of controlling Syria again. Roger's Muslim allies were so alarmed that they ceased co-operating with the Franks. Tughtigin pondered policy for several months. Then fearing the strength and ambition of Roger of Antioch he made a dangerous and dramatic journey to the sultan's court at Baghdad in the spring of 1116 and effected a reconciliation with Sultan Muḥammad. He accepted a diploma of investiture which

a sufficient reason for his murder by an assassin (Bernard Lewis, "The Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins", Baldwin [ed.], *Crusades*, I, 113; and Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: the Selchūkids", *ibid.*, p. 174). Cf. H. S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States", *ibid.*, p. 403; *idem*, "Mawdūd I of Mosul", *The Muslim World*, XLIII January, 1953), 25-26.

¹⁴ Kamāl-al-Dīn, *RHC*, Or., III, 607; Ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 146-147.

legalized his position at Damascus while at the same the sultan preserved the fiction of his own authority ¹⁵. But Tughtigin continued the policy of maintaining the balance of power. He continued his alliance with Il-Ghāzī who was not on good terms with the sultan.

The period of Damascene history between Roger's great victory in 1115 to Tughtigin's death in 1128 was marked by Turkish weakness and Frankish aggression.

On the Turkish side Sultan Muḥammad was discouraged and inactive. His death in 1118 was followed by another round of civil wars in Iraq. His successors were weak men unable to exert influence very far from Baghdad. Until 1128 the atabegs of Mosul interfered very little in Syria. Under these circumstances Muslim princes like Tughtigin were left to their own devices and to defend themselves if they could.

On the Frankish side Baldwin I and Baldwin II of Jerusalem were active aggressors. Baldwin I built a great castle at Al-Shaubak (Montreal) east of the Dead Sea in 1115 and established a base at Elath at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqabah the next year. He could thus control Damascene commerce to the Ḥijāz and Egypt. He invaded Egypt itself in 1118 reaching Tinnis on the Nile only to die on the return journey. As a result Tughtigin and Al-Afḍal made one of their rather rare co-operative efforts that summer, a joint demonstration in the area of Ascalon, but nothing came of it. Fulcher of Chartres quaintly remarks that both sides preferred to live rather than to die ¹⁶. In 1124 Baldwin II captured the great port of Tyre in spite of the vigorous efforts of Tughtigin to save it. He was bold enough to strike for Damascus itself in 1126. He got as far as Marj al-Ṣuffār, sixteen miles south of Damascus, where Tughtigin's hastily gathered levies blocked him. Indeed elements of both armies retreated in this battle, occasioning Ibn-al-Athīr's dry remark: "It was a strange thing to see both sides flee from the other" ¹⁷.

During these years Baldwin I and Baldwin II were able to impose some measure of unity and co-operation upon the Franks, especially after Tancred of Antioch died in 1112 and Roger in 1119. The result was often dangerous pressure upon Aleppo from Antioch. To Tughtigin it was vital that Aleppo be in friendly hands. Therefore he supported in succession three Turks from Iraq who were powerful enough to defend Aleppo without being dangerous to Damascus, viz., Il-Ghāzī of Mardin (d. 1122), the latter's nephew Belek (d. 1124), and Aksungur al-Bursūkī (d. 1126) whose *jihād* Tughtigin had not supported in

¹⁵ For Bursūk's campaign see H. S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States", Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I, 404-405; and for Tughtigin's journey to the sultan see Ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 152-153.

¹⁶ P. 619.

¹⁷ Ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 174-176; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 372-373; Sibṭ, *ibid.*, III, 565-566; Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 784-793; William of Tyre, XIII, xviii.

1114. Soon after Aksungur's death Sultan Maḥmūd in Baghdad in one of his few important acts appointed a rising Turkish chieftain in his service, 'Imād-al-Dīn Zengī, to the government of Mosul and Aleppo. Zengī took possession of Mosul as atabeg in September, 1127, and of Aleppo the following January. A month later Tughtigin died. It was the end of an era. Since 1095 he had guided the destinies of Damascus first with Dukak and after 1104 alone. An utter realist, he had played the game of balance of power with ability and success and more than anyone else was the founder of the independence of Damascus.

The period from 1128 to 1146 was dominated by the efforts of 'Imād-al-Dīn Zengī to conquer Damascus as a necessary preliminary to a holy war upon the Franks. For this purpose he conducted four campaigns in Syria from his base at Aleppo.

The Franks if realistic should have co-operated with Damascus knowing that Zengī was their greatest enemy also. Instead they started out in 1129 with an attempt to conquer Damascus, their bulwark, as they had tried three years before. The invasion was led by Count Fulk of Anjou, newly arrived from France to be the heir of the aging King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. Fulk's invasion was thwarted when Tāj-al-Mulūk Böri, the son and successor of Tughtigin, destroyed the Frankish foraging parties¹⁸. Zengī did not help Böri. He probably was glad to let Böri realize his own weakness and the fickleness of the Franks. The latter frequently raided the lands of Damascus in the Biqā' and Hauran in the years that followed.

Zengī's first campaign was in 1130. He summoned Böri to send troops for the holy war. Böri sent only a token contingent under his son Sevinj. Zengī arrested Sevinj, robbed his troops, occupied his dependency of Hamah and tried to occupy Ḥomṣ, halfway to Damascus. He made his real objective, the conquest of Damascus, quite plain but aroused fear and a deep determination in Damascus to resist him¹⁹.

The Atabeg of Mosul came back in 1135 at which time a secret offer was made by Shams-al-Mulūk Ismā'īl, the unbalanced son of Böri (d. 1132), to surrender Damascus. For this Ismā'īl was murdered at the instigation of his own mother. As a consequence Zengī besieged Damascus for a while and then retired to secure control of most of the great fortresses south of Aleppo up to Ḥomṣ. Most of these conquests were at the expense of the Franks of Antioch²⁰. But their capture made easier Zengī's future operations against Damascus.

In the spring of 1137 Zengī returned to Syria to besiege Ḥomṣ. This city was saved for Damascus when Count Raymond II of Tripoli

¹⁸ Ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 195-199; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 385-386; Sibṭ, *ibid.*, III, 567-568; William of Tyre, XIII, xxvi.

¹⁹ Ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 200-201; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 386-387; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *ibid.*, III, 659-660.

²⁰ Ibn-al-Qalānisi, pp. 228-236; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 403-405; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *ibid.*, III, 667-670; William of Tyre, XIV, vi.

(1137-1152) and King Fulk (1131-1143) took up arms around Baʿrīn (Montferrand), fearing for the safety of Tripoli, fifty miles to the southwest ²¹.

In the meantime a new element entered, or re-entered, Syrian affairs — Byzantine imperialism. Emperor John Comnenus, ambitious since his accession in 1118 to regain control of Anatolia and Syria, invaded the latter country in the summer of 1137. He forced Raymond of Antioch (not to be confused with Raymond of Tripoli) to become his vassal. Then with the aid of the Franks of Antioch and of Edessa he attacked Zengī's stronghold of Aleppo in April, 1138, but in vain. He then invaded the area to the south as far as Shayzar. Such was the alarm of Zengī and of the government of Damascus that they stopped their hostilities around Ḥomṣ and joined forces to resist John. A treaty was hurriedly made, May 31, in which Zengī was to receive Ḥomṣ and to marry the mother of Shihāb-al-Dīn Maḥmūd (1135-1139), who had succeeded his brother Ismāʿīl as ṣāhib of Damascus ²². At last the control of Damascus seemed within reach of Zengī. But the treaty did not long survive the retirement of the Emperor John from Syria that summer. Next year Shihāb-al-Dīn, now compromised as the step-son of Zengī, was murdered and his half-brother Jamāl-al-Dīn Muḥammad (1139-1140) was set up as the lord of Damascus. Muʿīn-al-Dīn Unur, the able soldier who had defended Ḥomṣ against Zengī and who had become Shihāb's isfahsallar and atabeg, continued to dominate the affairs of Damascus. Zengī was furious ²³.

In the winter of 1139-1140, Zengī entered upon a determined siege of Damascus. Unur defended the city with vigor and ability. So desperate was he that he called on King Fulk of Jerusalem for help. Unur agreed to pay Fulk's expenses, furnish hostages and wrest from Zengī and deliver to Fulk the strategically important town of Banyas, thirty-five miles southwest of Damascus. He warned Fulk of what the latter should have realized, that the Franks would be unable to stay in the country if Zengī took Damascus. Fulk mobilized, forced Zengī to retire and received Banyas after he and Unur took it by joint siege. Thus the Franks were paid to do what was in their own interest. William of Tyre remarks that the Damascenes preferred that Banyas be held by the Franks "rather than see it held by an enemy whom they greatly feared and distrusted" ²⁴.

²¹ This involved the siege, capture and release of King Fulk by Zengī at Baʿrīn Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 242-243; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 421-422; *idem, ibid.*, II, ii, 105-110; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *ibid.*, III, 673; William of Tyre, XIV, xxv-xxix).

²² Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 251-252; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 425; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *ibid.*, III, 679.

²³ Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 253-254; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 431; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *ibid.*, III, 681.

²⁴ Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 257-262; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 434-437; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *ibid.*, III, 682; William of Tyre, XV, vii-xi (quotation from chap. viii). For discussion of Zengī's relations with Damascus in the period 1137-1140 see

As it turned out this was the last campaign of Zengī against Damascus. His interests were so great that he had to spend much time elsewhere particularly in Iraq. In 1144 he was successful in capturing Edessa, the capital of the northern-most crusader state. He was killed in 1146. Though treacherous and cruel, Zengī was a man of great ability. He went a long way in building up the unity of the Muslims of Syria and Iraq against the crusaders. During his time the government of Damascus maintained its independence against him, and against the Franks of Jerusalem, with increasing difficulty. The latter in their hostility toward Damascus never seemed to realize like Unur that Damascus and Jerusalem had common interests and could not afford the luxury of fighting each other.

Zengī was succeeded by his sons, Saif-al-Dīn Ghāzī, the eldest, who seized Mosul, and Nūr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd (Nurredin) who secured Aleppo. Eight years later Nūr-al-Dīn was to acquire possession of Damascus itself.

The first event of interest in this period was a minor one eloquently indicating the unstable nature of the Franks. In 1147 the government of Baldwin III of Jerusalem attempted to secure Bosra and Sarkhad, two strongholds in the Ḥaurān, by conspiring to receive them from Unur's disloyal governor, al-Tutush. Unur forestalled the attempt but only after vainly pleading with the Franks to be loyal to the terms of their alliance ²⁵.

The first event of importance in this period was the Second Crusade. Ibn-al-Qalānīsī writes that the hearts of the Syrian Muslims sank, rose and sank again as they heard reports of the approach of the crusaders, the disaster that befell them in Anatolia the winter of 1147-1148 and the arrival of some of them on the shores of Syria in the spring. The decision to attack Damascus was made at a colorful council at Acre described by William of Tyre. It was attended by the Western Emperor Conrad III, King Louis VII of France and the youthful King Baldwin III of Jerusalem and his mother Queen Melisend. Edessa, the original target of the crusade, was distant while Damascus was adjacent, apparently vulnerable and would furnish fiefs for Frankish nobles. This decision was consistent with the Frankish policy of 1126 and 1129, to capture Damascus thus ignoring the fact that its strength and independence were their guarantee against Muslim unity ²⁶.

The defense of Damascus was ably planned and managed by Muḥīn-al-Dīn Unur, atabeg of the city. He poisoned the wells and springs, gathered food and prepared the walls of the orchards and of the city

Robert L. Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States", Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I, 438-443; Gibb, "Zengi and the Fall of Edessa", *ibid.*, pp. 458-460.

²⁵ Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 276-279; William of Tyre, XVI, viii. See Röhrich, *Jerusalem*, pp. 220-221; Grousset, *Croisades*, II, 209-214.

²⁶ Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 280-282; William of Tyre, XVII, i-ii; cf. Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 467. See also Virginia Berry, "The Second Crusade", Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I, 505-507.

for defense. He summoned Saif-al-Dīn of Mosul and Nūr-al-Dīn of Aleppo who reached Ḥomṣ, ninety miles away. But he wanted them no closer for Saif-al-Dīn, the senior of the two brothers, demanded temporary command of Damascus as his price, which Unur naturally feared would become permanent. Therefore Unur seems to have negotiated with the Franks also, telling them what he had said in 1140, that if Damascus were turned over to the Turks of Iraq the days of the Franks in Syria would be numbered. Fortunately for Unur the Frankish siege lasted for only four days, July 24-28. The crusaders suffered from heat, lack of food and water, and quarrelled among themselves. Consequently they withdrew abruptly. Within the city the effect of this unprovoked attack was profound. Frankish military prestige tumbled and Frankish reputation for greed and fickleness mounted. This experience, and that of 1147, made the people of Damascus doubt the wisdom of depending any longer on their Frankish neighbors for protection against Nūr-al-Dīn ²⁷.

The year 1149 marked a turning point in the relations between Damascus and Nūr-al-Dīn. The latter defeated and killed Raymond of Antioch in a great battle at Inab, sixty miles southwest of Aleppo, June 29. He began to assume the role of champion of Islam. He patronized writers who praised him and made the neutralism of Damascus seem pro-Frankish and embarrassing. Even the tone of the contemporary Damascus chronicle of Ibn-al-Qalānīsī begins to change ²⁸. To cap it all the able Atabeg Unur died, August 28. Mujīr-al-Dīn Abak, ṣāḥib of Damascus (1140-1154), took personal charge of affairs. He made a treaty with Baldwin III agreeing to joint action against any Muslim aggressor. This was plainly aimed at Nūr-al-Dīn ²⁹.

Nūr-al-Dīn's policy from this point was masterly. He posed as a devout Muslim. Each spring, except in 1152, he entered the lands of Damascus piously calling upon Mujīr-al-Dīn to co-operate in a *jihād*. Mujīr-al-Dīn praised the ideal but each time pled the Frankish treaty as a reason for non-compliance.

Nūr-al-Dīn would then camp on the lush Ghūṭah Plain outside Damascus but refuse to be drawn into battle with fellow Muslims. At the same time his Turkoman irregulars roamed the country and made the husbandmen miserable. He also extended this policy to the Ḥaurān ³⁰. At the same time the Franks of Jerusalem blindly raided the same area. In 1153 they prepared to besiege Ascalon, which was held by Egypt and which was the last Muslim town on the coast of Palestine. As a

²⁷ Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 282-289; Ibn-al-Athīr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 468-470; *idem, ibid.*, II, ii, 159-161; William of Tyre, XVII, iii-vi. See Berry, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-510.

²⁸ Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, p. 291. See Gibb, "The Career of Nūr-al-Dīn", Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I, 515-516.

²⁹ Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, pp. 290, 295-296.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 301 ff.

result Mujir-al-Din was forced by public opinion to join forces with Nur-al-Din but quarrelled at Banyas and withdrew almost at once. On his return he was met by riots in Damascus³¹. Soon after on August 22 Ascalon was taken by Baldwin III. The fall of this Muslim city, although held by the Fatimids, was the last straw. Mujir-al-Din's Frankish policy was thoroughly discredited. Some Damascenes feared that Baldwin would attack their city next.

When Nur-al-Din paid his annual spring visit to the Ghutah Plain in 1154 the result was a foregone conclusion. In spite of the efforts of Mujir-al-Din the youth of the city admitted the troops of Nur-al-Din. There was no fighting. No one was punished. Mujir-al-Din was allowed to retire³². Thus Damascus lost an independence made impossible and even unwelcome by its allies, the Franks. The city slipped easily into the Islamic fold dedicated to the holy war.

The sequel is well known. The Fatimids of Egypt fell in 1169 to an army sent by Nur-al-Din from his new base at Damascus, and the city of Jerusalem to Salah-al-Din (Saladin) from Egypt in 1187. Although the Franks lingered along the coast of Syria for yet another century their fate was already determined. It was determined when Damascus fell in 1154, if not long before. Certainly the régime in Damascus, squeezed between the Franks and a renascent Turkish imperialism centered in Iraq and Aleppo, tried to live in harmony with the men from Europe. But the crusaders never seemed to realize that the fate of both Damascus and themselves depended upon peace, commercial relations and co-operation in defense. Their frivolous attempts to undermine and conquer their Syrian neighbor contributed materially to the loss of independence by Damascus and to the ultimate ruin of the Franks themselves.

University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

HAROLD S. FINK

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316; Stevenson, quoting Abu Ya'la in A. S. Cairo 90 (*Crusaders in the East*, pp. 171-172). Consult Grousset, *Croisades*, II, 360-361; Gibb, "The Career of Nur-al-Din", Baldwin (ed.), *Crusades*, I, 518.

³² Ibn-al-Qalanisi, pp. 318-321; Ibn-al-Athir, *RHC*, *Or.*, I, 495-497; *idem*, *ibid.*, II, ii, 188-192; William of Tyre, XVII, xxvi.

BOOK REVIEWS

Islam — The Straight Path. Islam Interpreted by Muslims. Edited by Kenneth W. Morgan, New York, Ronald Press, 1958, pp. vii, 430, Bibliography, Glossary, Index, End Paper Maps. \$ 6.00

This excellent publication is cordially recommended for careful study by Muslims and non-Muslims. Muslims of Western Asia and Africa will learn how Muslims in Central Asia, China and Indonesia adopted and adapted the beliefs and practices taught by their prophet Muḥammad. Non-Muslim orientalists, teachers and students of the social sciences as well as foreign officials and personnel dealing with Muslim peoples, will find the volume invaluable.

The editor, Kenneth W. Morgan, Professor of Religion in Colgate University, secured the recommendations of numerous Muslims and selected eleven approved scholars to write one chapter each. Five of the authors were from Egypt, two from Indonesia, and one each from Iran, (a Shī'ah), Turkey, Pakistan and China.

These scholars describe the origin, history, content, sects and social interactions of Islam, both as a specific religion and as participating in the historical events of the world. Account is taken of the rise, expansion and disintegration of the Arab, Umayyad, ʿAbbāsīd, Fāṭimid, Seljuk and Ottoman Turkish, Mughal and other empires, dynasties and republics.

All the book should be read before disappointment or criticism of any particular chapter is expressed. This is because all the authors read the chapters of their colleagues and so could avoid unnecessary repetition. For instance, a reader could wonder why the learned teacher from Al-Azhar mentioned only Sawdah (p. 12) as the wife Muḥammad married after the death of Khadijah: it could be because ʿĀʾishah and other wives are mentioned elsewhere (pp. 187, 191, 427). Also, the composite character of the book permits different interpretations of the same principle or practice of Islam. A notable instance is the different descriptions of *Jihād* (see index).

The present reviewer values highly the objectivity of the chapter on Islamic history and the kindly spirit of that on Islamic mysticism, and commends the chapters on Central Asia and China to the Muslim readers of India, Indonesia, Western Asia and Africa.

Some comments are offered. On page 4, in the translation of Surah ii. 133, Noah is wrongly included among the antecedents of Jacob, since his name is not in the Arabic text of that verse. The translations of some Arabic words are not consistent or correct, such as ʿĀd (p. 105). Surah cxii is quoted on pages 91, 146 and 409. As a strictly grammatical and preferred rhetorical translation the following is offered: "Say: It (the fact) is, Allah is One, the Eternal Allah. He did not beget and he was not begotten. There was not any meet (suitable) for him."

It would have been helpful if the Quranic and the later common uses of the terms "Islam" and "Muslim" had been clearly distinguished. In the Qurʾān, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and his disciples are all Muslims. In later Islam "Muslim" is given a narrower sense. Also, in the several

discussions of the Qurʾān, the principle of the abrogation of an earlier by a later verse could have been helpfully explained.

There is great need for the translation into the language of this book, as well as other languages used by Muslims, of Al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911, A.D. 1505) invaluable Introduction to the Sciences of the Qurʾān (*Al-ʿItqān fī ʿUlūm-al-Qurʾān*).

Hartford, Connecticut.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

The Koran. A New Translation by N. J. Dawood. Penguin Books Inc., 3300 Clipper Mill Road, Baltimore 11, Md., 1955. pp. 428. 95 cents.

In the Victoria-Brighton train one day in 1957 I was reading the current number of *The Muslim World*. Just before the train pulled out an obviously senior schoolboy jumped in with an array of parcels, most of which he deposited on the rack. Seated, however, he pulled out of a paper bag a cream-and-yellow Penguin. The bold letters KORAN naturally invited questions. I said that I was interested (as he would see) in the same subject. He replied that he was seeing so much in the papers about Islam that he thought he had better start at the beginning and the bookstall at the Station had provided him with this first step.

Some months later found me in Jerusalem for the Summer School of July, 1958. Much time and thought during this period was given to the study of the Qurʾān in so many of its phases. Suffice it to say that nearly all the copies ordered were sold, and all this despite what drawbacks there might be. Let this chain of experiences be recommendation.

It is out of the question here to offer any detailed review. It may be enough to suggest a few criticisms which might help towards greater clarity in reprints. We should like to see any scholarly work read *Qurʾān* for *Koran*. This consensus of scholarship should be communicated to the general public, whatever the initial sacrifice. That said, we should like other more correct spellings to follow suit. More important would be a proper versification of the Surahs for the sake of time, trouble — and tempers! If Bell is complicated by the quantity of brackets and parallel columns, and if Arberry might be better for a few more aids to picking the right verse at once, Dawood is almost prohibitive of a quick reference. This came out clearly in the Jerusalem Summer School. Paragraphs are not enough. Other arrangements with the *Fātiḥah* as a kind of Foreword and the succinct footnotes, just where necessary, are all to the good (not, however, that we would agree with them all). If the order in which the surahs are presented may seem as arbitrary as that of any of the translator's predecessors, he states he is deliberately poetical at the start and more topical towards the close in his choice of order. The (then) uninitiated reader on the train to Brighton would probably not have been put off, even by seeing *The Cow* after the *Fātiḥah*. One of the excellent pithy footnotes would have solved the problem, here and elsewhere. But the uninitiated reader must certainly read the Introduction. The initiated will perhaps not agree with all the statements. The first sentence in paragraph two page ten will command, however, complete agreement. Errors and small

omissions have crept in. There is one modernistic touch in the title bestowed on Surah iii. To make it fit other titular plurals we are introduced to *The Imrans*. Shades not only of Moses and Aaron but of Al-Baidāwi and Margoliouth! But when all is said and done, these are but peccadilloes; for we are grateful for some of the renderings, with which this review may fitly conclude: — "They can grasp only that part of His knowledge which He wills" (349). "(Near it is the Garden of Repose)." The brackets are a "brainwave." There are a few other bracketed phrases and it might be worthwhile to examine such. "The most Bounteous One, who by the pen has taught mankind things they did not know" (26). The Chapter of *The Cave* is a good illustration of the translator's work. If this Penguin has already gone far, it might go further still with the incorporation of these suggestions. This is what we wish for it.

Redhill, Surrey, England.

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

Worship in Islam, a Translation, with Commentary and Introduction on Al-Ghazālī's Book of the *Ihyāʾ* on the Worship. By Edwin E. Calverley, Luzac & Company Ltd, and School of Oriental Studies, American University, at Cairo, 1957. pp. viii, 242. Second edition with corrections, 15 shillings.

If worship is the most excellent occupation in which man can engage and if the subject of worship is treated by one of the greatest minds of Islam, then the book in which such a treatment is found is certainly welcome to men of all faiths who think seriously upon worship. This is just such a book.

The publication of a second edition after thirty-two years attests its permanent worth. The review of it by Murray T. Titus in the April 1926 issue of this *Quarterly* remains valid and is recommended. Dr. Titus ended his comments with the words: "This translation by Dr. Calverley is..., the first time that this section of the *Ihyāʾ* has been fully translated for English readers, and those who do not know either Urdu or Arabic will find here a book deserving of their most careful study, if they desire to know the highest type of religious attitude and life in Islam." (p. 201). It is good once more to have available this fundamental work which describes in minutest detail the Muslim act of worship and elucidates the significance and hidden meanings of the act. The charge of mere formalism in religious practice can hardly stand before an exposition, as contained herein by a master-thinker of historic Islam, of the modality and spiritual involvements of every movement, gesture, posture, word or thought related to worship. In these days of secular tendencies and shallow convictions it may be salutary to Christians and Muslims alike to restudy this theme in an effort to rediscover the soul of man as he places himself face to face with his Maker. Surely those living under the shadow of the mosque and within earshot of the *muʿadhdhin* will have a special interest in pursuing this study with the aid of this book.

Hartford, Connecticut.

ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Kitab al-Intiṣār, Le Livre du Triomphe et de la Réfutation d'Ibn al-Rawandi l'Hérétique, par Abū al-Husayn b. ʿOthmān al Khayyāl le Muʿtazil, translated into French by Albert N. Nader, with foreword (pp. ix-xiv) published by Les Lettres Orientales, Beyrouth, 1957 (French text, 175 pp.; Arabic text, 156 pp.).

This sixth volume in the series published under the direction of the Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth contains a reprint of the text of *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* as previously edited by H. S. Nyberg (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub Press, 1925) and a complete translation of this work as well as of Dr. Nyberg's Arabic preface and notes. In the third volume of the same series Dr. Nader had published a study of the doctrines of the Muʿtazilite school (*Le Système Philosophe des Muʿtazila*) which he now recommends as a companion volume to elucidate the questions treated in the present work. His translation contains a convenient reference system for this purpose.

Dr. Nyberg's edition is reproduced quite faithfully and his corrections are introduced into the body of the text; but his useful analytical index of names and sects was for some unknown reason reduced to a mere reference to pages. Dr. Nader speaks of the difficulty of the text saying that he translated it as literally as possible. Unfortunately, he does not give a list of the technical terms. There is no consistent indication of the *hamzah*, *shaddah*, or passives (which would have been an improvement on the original edition). The translation is not without mistakes. A reading of some passages chosen at random produced a number of them, none extremely serious. For lack of space, only the following examples of the more important ones are given. The technical term *tawātur* is treated simply as *tradition*; *mā*, as long as, is translated as though it were *man*, *he who* (p. 72, l. 11 of text); *al-ladhī arāda-al-Jāhīz biwaṣfi qauli-l-ghulātī mā khabbaranā bihi dūna mā ḡannan tahu bihi* is translated: "ce qu'al-Jāhīz a voulu dire en décrivant les propos des extrémistes qu'il nous a transmis *est* tout à fait différent de ce que vous avez cru de lui," whereas the following would be more correct: ce qu'al-Jāhīz a voulu dire en décrivant les propos des extrémistes *est* ce qu'il nous a transmis plutôt que l'opinion que tu t'en es formée" (p. 113, text, 143 tr.; italics mine).

In spite of the drawbacks mentioned, students of Muslim thought will be grateful to Dr. Nader both for his painstaking and, on the whole, good translation as well as for making available, once again, the original Arabic edition which has been for a long time out of print.

University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, Michigan.

GEORGE MAKDISI

Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A. D. Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt (Continued). By William Popper, (Univ. of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. 16) University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957, pp. ix, 123, \$ 2.50.

History of Egypt, 1382-1469 A.D. (Part III, 1412-1422 A.D.), Translated from the Arabic Annals of Abu l-Maḥāsīn Ibn Taghrī Birdī. By William Popper. (Univ. of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. 17) University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957, pp. xii, 176, \$ 3.50.

The first volume concludes the series "Systematic Notes" and is the second half of the study entitled *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A.D.* The other title in this series is *The Cairo Nilometer* (reviewed in *The Muslim World* in Vol. 42 (1952) p. 293). Then Part III of Professor Popper's English translation of the Ibn Taghrī Birdī *History of Egypt* is also now available.

If medieval Europe has too often languished in the dark as far as latter day students are concerned, so much the more so has medieval Islam had to make the most of its isolation from Christendom's sympathies. History has never been irrelevant, and now the title of the first volume is strangely reminiscent of something we may have read recently about Egypt, Syria and Russian influence. It presents in a compact outline abundant and detailed information that is scattered through the original *History*. Other historians are called upon at times to help fill gaps in this material so that a fairly complete picture of the period is afforded. Headings in this volume include The People, Names and Titles, Official Documents and Diplomas, The Calendar, Measures and Weights, Currency and Exchange (domestic), Food Prices, and Income: Fiefs and Salaries.

It is interesting to note the rise and fall of wheat prices with the changes in the Nile's level. One severe drought results in prices that impoverish many of the population. Incomes then, as recently, ranged from great heights to less than the cost of a meal per day. The plight of scholars, teachers and students was "evil," while the average wage of the servant class increased because death reduced their numbers! At one time the coinage of Europe had an effect in stabilizing Egyptian money values, but on another page the Franks seize the badly needed cargoes of four wheat ships bound for Egypt from Cyprus. Intricate computations make up the chapter on currency and exchange with several kinds of dirhams going around, and a major shift in standard from silver to copper. Equivalents for money and food prices are worked out in terms of U.S. Dollars for comparison. This book then, should be permanently valuable in the fields of economic and social history.

In the volume from Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *History of Egypt* the reigns of five Mamluke sultans are recorded. The longest was that of Al-Malik Al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh, whose dates are 1412-1421. Along with the story of his official business there is much human interest detail. He was fond of hunting, enjoyed the informal atmosphere of the homes of his aides, and liked a sail on the Nile. As chief of state he promoted the faith by erecting a fine mosque. He corresponded a lot with his governors in the cities of Syria as well as Egypt. Appointments and demotions are recorded, and careers of promising young emirs are traced. Plots are uncovered and thwarted, the Sultan himself once playing the part of executioner. Disease stalks even the ruler, beginning to overtake him with arthritis and foot trouble then finally overthrowing him in death with a fierce combination of blood and pain.

The reader notes the excitement of the populace during the welcoming ceremonies when the Sultan rides into Cairo on his return from a field trip to Syria. At another celebration myriads of floating lamps

are set on the Nile after sunset from both shores and it is a great sight. A great plague then comes and ravages the land. The Sultan leads the people out into the desert beside Cairo at Friday noon and prays in humble dress and manner for divine relief. Many sacrifices and food gifts that day are divided among the poor. In all he presents as fine a picture of the old-style potentate of the Orient that one could imagine, and would be a good subject for a film. Names in this history are very difficult, but the age was a colorful one.

Hartford, Connecticut

JAMES W. POLLOCK

Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples. Compiled by R. Roolvink, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1957, pp. 40, plus x. \$ 8.75.

A Concise History of Islam. Djambatan, Amsterdam, 1957, pp. 36, U.S.A. price \$ 1.30.

These two volumes acknowledge the need for atlases depicting in some detail the development of Muslim peoples. Both are the product of an Amsterdam publisher, although the larger volume is being distributed in this country by the Harvard University Press. The smaller of the two, designed as a school atlas, consists of fifteen pages of somewhat simplified maps and sixteen pages of text and illustrations. While the whole is very attractively done, and the summary account of Islamic history is adequate enough, it is unfortunate the text should contain, especially for school use, so many errors—not only typographical, but in punctuation and grammar as well. It is hoped these will be corrected in subsequent editions.

The Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples, containing about fifty maps, is a most welcome addition to the many volumes concerning Islam. This atlas invites comparison with that produced by Hazard and Cooke at Princeton. The Djambatan atlas, so far as maps alone go, is more thorough, more clear, and more attractive. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that it contains no commentary, as does the Princeton atlas, although such information is readily available elsewhere, particularly in Brockelmann upon which many of these maps are based. The maps are pleasingly executed in subdued colors—primarily browns, greens and grays, with a pleasant accent of red (mostly to indicate the Byzantine Empire). Mountains are indicated by relief shading. The selection of maps has been well made, and this reviewer was delighted to see the center map, depicting the trade routes and main products of Islam from the 10th to the 14th centuries. While the atlas by Hazard and Cooke shows the territory, century by century, over which Christians and Muslims quarrelled, the *Historical Atlas* shows Muslim internal development much more satisfactorily. This atlas, too, devotes considerable attention to Islam in India and Indonesia—areas the maps in the Princeton atlas ignore. It is hoped future editions will incorporate some textual material, but as it stands this is the best historical atlas of Muslim development available today.

*Tufts University,
Medford, Massachusetts.*

FREELAND K. ABBOTT

Islamic Woodcarvers and their Works. By L. A. Mayer, Geneva, Albert Kundig, 1958. pp. 99, 12 pls. clothbound. Sw. Frs. 30.

The title of this work should not lead one to assume that this is an aesthetic or historical discussion of the products of one of the typical Islamic crafts. Following in format and layout the same author's *Islamic Architects and Their Works*, 1956 (see review in *The Muslim World*, vol. XLVII, No. 1, [1957] pp. 76-77) and his *Islamic Astro-labists and Their Works*, 1956, this makes the third volume in a series and presents in the main an alphabetical "Roll" of Islamic carpenters, joiners, cabinet-makers, inlayers, and sculptors in wood, in which each entry provides brief, pertinent, historical and epigraphic facts and amazingly full bibliographical data about the objects and their makers. In addition, an alphabetical list of monuments and collections is given, as well as a list of calligraphers who are mentioned in the same inscriptions with the carvers, and finally, a chronological list whose first and last entries, from the middle of the 5th and the early 13th century A.H., are by historical accident both from Algeria. (This last list does not give, however, an approximate date to the undated though signed objects.) The work of these carvers covers a wide range of objects from town gates to boxes and a comb, although the most common subjects listed belong to two categories, doors and minbars. The objects were made in all the Islamic countries between Turkistan and Morocco—one even in Yugoslavia, a country rarely listed in connection with Muslim art. In view of their size and function, most objects are still *in situ* or at least in their countries of origin, but a few have reached American and German museums and several private collections whose whereabouts are not given, but we hope will be indicated in future volumes of the series, so that they can be easily traced if necessary.

The main part of the book is, as in the case of its companion volumes, preceded by a not too lengthy but very valuable introduction. It indicates the scope of the work, deals with the nomenclature of the signatures and their emplacement and discusses such questions as the effect of the relative scarcity of wood on production, the re-use of old material, and the preference for small panels in the composition of woodwork. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that many Near Eastern countries, such as Egypt, Syria and Spain, which nowadays have only little timber, were not quite as bare during the Middle Ages. It is also to be noted that the costliness of wood was apparently an incentive for its use, even for such common features of Arabian and Egyptian architecture as mushrabiyyas and ceiling rafters, while, by contrast, a region as rich in timber as Asia Minor turned from wood to stone for its *minbars*, a usage then continued in Ottoman mosques. The twelve plates which accompany the book are of unpublished or little known objects and are thus another valuable addition to a most useful book with special appeal for the historian of Islamic art, the epigraphist, and the museum curator in charge of Muslim objects.

*Freer Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.*

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

The Coinage of the ʿTūlūnids By Oleg Grabar, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 139 (New York, the American Numismatic Society) 1957, pp. x plus 78 and III plates. Price \$ 3.00.

Professor Grabar of the University of Michigan, who is best known as a historian of Islamic art, has in this publication notably enriched the literature dealing with Islamic numismatics. In great measure this contribution is due to the enterprise of Dr. George C. Miles of the American Numismatic Society in New York, who has instituted a system of fellowships, of one of which Professor Grabar was the recipient, that bids fair to promote a school of numismatic research and scholarship that up to the present has not existed in this country.

This work approaches the study of ʿTūlūnid coinage not in the narrow sense that has marked many older studies, but in the light of the significance of coinage as documentation for the study of history. The actual catalogue of the coins themselves occupies much less space than the discussion of the historical problems raised by them, and properly so. This probably should have been reflected in the title of the work.

On the technical side, it is clear that any definitive study of Islamic numismatics must involve an extensive first-hand restudy of the original material worked on by many earlier scholars and cataloguers. Many older readings of coin legends were erroneous or fanciful. Comparative material that has since become available would undoubtedly correct many of these former interpretations. A case in point is the allegedly ʿTūlūnid dinar (see p. 39) struck in Miṣr in A.H. 258 and bearing on the reverse a puzzling word (or words) that has been read in ways that seem hardly in consonance with the Arabic characters in question, to judge from the illustration. This only points up the fact that in such cases photographs, which tend to become increasingly poorly reproduced in modern publications, are not adequate to work from. Furthermore, it is unwise at this point to attempt to draw too-fine historical judgments from the available numismatic evidence. Much more work needs to be done in the field—and not only with existing collections. There are probably as many, if not more, ʿTūlūnid and Fātimid coins in the hands of jewelers and goldsmiths in Cairo and other Near Eastern cities as there are in the existing collections, and their number is decreasing daily as they disappear into the melting crucibles or into the countryside to adorn the peasant women.

The discussion of the historical context of the ʿTūlūnid coinage revolves around two main points: the date of Ibn ʿTūlūn's "independence" and the nature thereof. As perhaps a helpful comment on Professor Grabar's discussion of whether the allegedly ʿTūlūnid coins of A.H. 258 and 259 are any real indicator of Ibn ʿTūlūn's actual independence, it should be noted that copper coinage in this respect is by no means as reliable an indicator as silver and particularly gold. There are many copper issues dating from Umayyad times and later that either bear no name at all or only the name of an issuing official other than the sovereign, yet they do not imply the "independence" of the issuing official. It seems likely, then, as Professor Grabar is inclined to believe, that Ibn ʿTūlūn's "independence" should be considered (on the basis of the presently-available numismatic evidence) as dating only from A.H. 266, when his name first appears on the gold coinage.

The implications of "independence" in that day and age were quite different from what they are now. Unlike the later Fāṭimids, his was not a religious independence, for the dynasty was an orthodox Sunnī one and throughout it continued to acknowledge the ʿAbbāsīd caliphate on its coinage. Furthermore, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn had a deep sense of loyalty to the caliph as the head of the community of Islam: this stemmed not only from reasons of principle, but also from practical political considerations. His addiction to principle is illustrated by his refusal to assassinate the Caliph al-Mustaʿīn when ordered to do so by his Turkish superiors and by his execution of the followers of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmārī, who murdered their master without cause in the hope of a reward from Ibn Ṭūlūn. On the more practical political side, Ibn Ṭūlūn was pressed not only by the Byzantines and by enemies at the ʿAbbāsīd court, but also by ʿAlid uprisings at home. It seems likely, then, that Ibn Ṭūlūn's "independence" would better be described as "administrative autonomy" — a state made necessary by the decline of the secular administrative authority of the caliph. The term "independence" might better be reserved for those régimes, such as the Fāṭimids and the Umayyads of Spain, which rejected the authority of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph.

In connection with the problem of Ibn Ṭūlūn's initiation of coinage in his own name, the reviewer would like to point out that the aetiological legend of Al-Maqrīzī seeking to explain Ibn Ṭūlūn's preoccupation with the fineness of his gold (p. 59, note 3 in Grabar's present work) occurs in another and somewhat more interesting version in Al-Qalqashandī's *Al-Danānir al-Maskūkah mim mā yuḍrab bi-al-Diyār al-Miṣriyyah*¹. According to this version, Ibn Ṭūlūn found at Helopolis a number of ancient gold ingots, which as in Al-Maqrīzī's version was accompanied by a hieroglyphic inscription boasting of the fineness of the metal. This caused Ibn Ṭūlūn to make great efforts to produce fine gold for his mints, and such gold was "stamped with his own name" (*yukhtam bi-naḥsihi*). Unfortunately, no date is mentioned in connection with this event, which is much to be regretted.

The rendition of Arabic names and words is well done, with only the occasional slip. One curious mistake is the consistent use of "marshes" for "marches" in the sense of "frontier districts." Finally, it is a pity that the monograph has no index, which would have been particularly desirable in view of the usefulness of this work for historical reference.

Arlington, Virginia

HAROLD W. GLIDDEN

Apostles of Palestine. By Eric F. F. Bishop, London, the Lutterworth Press, 1958. Pp. 258. 30s.

Mr. Bishop, after many years of devoted service to the Newman School of Missions in Jerusalem, was Lecturer in Arabic at the University of Glasgow 1949-1956. During the latter period he published *Jesus of Palestine* (1955), to which the present work is a companion volume.

¹ Père Anastase-Marie al-Karmali, *Al-Nuqūd al-ʿArabiyyah wa-ʿIlm al-Nummiyyāt* (Cairo and Baghdad, 1939), p. 116.

The earlier study was a series of notes on the four Gospels reflecting insights or side-lights suggested by the experiences in Palestine. The present book deals with the rest of the New Testament, except the Johannine Epistles, in some 150 classified notes.

The reviewer must confess that his initial reaction to the book was one of perplexity. This disappeared when he recognized that the author had combined his knowledge of the New Testament and of Palestine for a double purpose, or for a two-fold audience. In part he was illuminating the New Testament for Christian scholars or laymen. Many of the notes fulfill this purpose. For such readers the finest thing in the book is undoubtedly the "Interlude: The Great North Road" (pp. 117-129). This is an unexcelled piece of writing describing imaginatively St. Paul's crucial journey to Damascus. Many readers will wish for the opportunity of accompanying Eric Bishop along other, historic, Palestinian roads.

However, some of the references to Muslim customs, Arabic terminology, or Arabic translation of the New Testament are scarcely relevant for this purpose. Their place becomes clear when the book's concern for Islam and her peoples is recognized. The writer is eager to use every opportunity to point out links of language, custom, or thought between Islam and the New Testament. Those who know Islam and are concerned for the proclamation of the Christian faith there will be particularly appreciative of this aspect of *Apostles of Palestine*. All will be grateful that this careful observer of all things Palestinian has given a record of his observations in the land of the three great monotheistic faiths.

Hartford, Connecticut.

HARVEY K. MCARTHUR

Le Monde Islamique, Essai de Géographie Religieuse. By Xavier de Planhol, Presses Universitaires de France, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris, 1957. pp. 146.

As the title implies, the author, member of the faculty of the University of Nancy, France, presents a religious-geographical study of the Islamic world. Here the term "religious" should be understood in its most inclusive sense. The treatment is succinct but scholarly.

Beginning with the thesis that although Islam is primarily an urban religion, the writer goes on to point out the lack of cohesion and order in city life, the Muslim's negative attitude toward the cultivation of the soil, and his propensity for pastoral life.

There is a close relationship, according to our author, between geographical features and the habitat of ethnic, linguistic or religious groups in Islamic countries. Maraboutic tribes in North Africa, for example, and heretical sects in the Middle East find refuge in the mountainous districts, while the Mozabites have resorted to the desert. Yet as increase of security permits refugees to leave their places of refuge and as minorities are absorbed in the mass, the segregated groups tend to lose their individuality.

Perhaps the most enticing part of this study is the writer's treatment of the geographical factors in the expansion of Islam. The question he raises is to what extent Islam should be considered the expression of

geographic environment? Is it only a coincidence that Islam should occupy, generally, arid or semi-arid lands? In what measure is the spread of Islam due to conquest and to what extent can it be attributed to pacific means, as commerce and intermarriage? The general conclusion reiterates the primacy of the city and of commercial activity, with neglect of stable rural development, in the spread and fixation of Islam. These circumstances, he maintains, may serve to explain the Islamic sclerosis. The nuclear character of the Muslim population in the arid or semi-arid zone has contributed to its weakening. Fragmentation into isolated cells is contradictory to the fundamental need for unity in the Muslim world. Perhaps these views are not irrelevant to present political aspirations in Muslim lands.

The author's opinions are substantiated by reliable sources. A dozen pages of bibliography enhance greatly this work for the sociologist, ethnologist, geographer and student of Islam. Regrettably the author seems to be unaware of the availability of the works of Murray Titus and Wilfred Cantwell Smith on India.

Hartford, Connecticut

ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Pakistan; A Political Study. By Keith Callard, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1957 (The Macmillan Company, New York), pp. 351, appendices, glossary and index. \$ 6.00.

Professor Callard's *Pakistan; A Political Study* is the major work by a Western scholar on political events in Pakistan from Independence to 1957. It will repay the study of all readers interested in the social and political implications of Islam. The author is Professor of Political Science, McGill University, and on the Faculty of the Institute of Islamic Studies there. His first hand knowledge of Pakistan, his command of a vast quantity of data, and, above all, the objectivity of his critical judgment make for a masterly production. One may well believe that the author's freedom from bias will appeal to Pakistani readers.

Eleven chapters treat "predominant themes in the brief history and present experience of Pakistan." Each can be read as an independent essay. The influence of Islam on political practice and theory is traced in Chapter 2, "The Decline of the Muslim League;" in Chapters 3 and 4, "The Constituent Assembly" and "The Federal Structure," on the making of the constitution and the constitutional crisis of 1954; and in Chapter 7, "The Minorities."

Some readers will find Chapter 6, "Islam and Politics," the heart of the book. It covers the following topics: the separation of the Christian church from the state in liberal Western countries in contrast with the unity of social, political, cultural, and religious life in Islam; the reasons for accepting the separate identity of Pakistan; the Muslim's sense of separateness from the Hindu, and his belief in the brotherhood of Muslims — both centered in Islam; the two groups of Muslim leaders — the Westernized political leaders and the professional men of religion; the difficulty of applying the teachings of Islam to the making of the constitution; what the new constitution offers to the orthodox traditionalist and to the liberal democrat. Despite much discussion of the "ideological" state, Muslims still disagree on the application of Islam to

social and political life. Yet virtually all believe that their state should be based on the teachings of Islam, that for Muslims the ultimate sanction for morality is Islam.

It is profitable to compare this chapter with the chapter on Pakistan found in Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith's *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton University Press, 1957). Professor Smith's generalizations on mundane events and the dilemmas peculiar to Pakistan agree with those of his colleague. In the last chapter, "Prospect," the author measures the political achievement of Pakistan in her first decade and surveys the forces that may determine her future. "In Pakistan democracy has one considerable advantage: it is the only strongly advocated political theory." The ideologies "that carry anti-democratic implications ... have not been presented as the basis of an alternative form of government." Important sections of the community have exerted pressure to keep the democratic system in operation. The courts have applied the law as inherited from the British. The civil service and the army have shown no desire to back any potential dictator. Certain aspects of the moral climate favor certain elements of responsible government. Islam enjoins obedience to the law, political justice for all men (though the status of non-believers is different), and "the complete equality of all Muslims before God and man. There is a link between these ideas and the English tradition of government according to law and of equality before the law."

The last paragraph of the book reads: "It is a mistake to judge the success or failure of government in a country like Pakistan solely or even mainly by its fulfilment of the ideal standards of the Western democracies... Above all, it is necessary to remember that popular government does not spring full-grown from the ground. Pakistan, by its constitution, is publicly committed to the operation of democratic institutions. It is too early to say whether these institutions are likely to mature. Democracy has been accepted as an ideal; there is nothing to indicate that it cannot become a reality."

Appendices give (1) "The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan — extract and summary," (2) "Central and Provincial Government" — holders of office, with dates of service, (3) a "Select Bibliography." Of a total of 88 entries in the bibliography, 35 are works by Muslim individuals (27 different writers) and 14 are Government reports and serials. Of the 85 titles that bear date of publication, 79 came out in the nineteen fifties.

Pakistan will be widely used. It is a book which will challenge and inspire the educated young men and women of Pakistan.

*Hunter College of the
City of New York.*

GRACE J. CALDER

Essays on the Constitution of Pakistan. Includes the Draft and Final Constitutions of Pakistan with comments. By K. J. Newman, Dacca, Pakistan Cooperative Book Society Ltd., 1956, pp. LVI, 395, Rs. 12-8-0.

Professor Newman, Head of the Department of Political Science at Dacca University, presents an account of Pakistan's nine-year struggle in formulating a constitution, a copy of the Constitutional Draft,

his Essays on the Draft Constitution, and the Final Constitution with explanatory comments.

In the eight sections of Historical Introduction the author deals with the factors leading up to the First Constituent Assembly, the prevailing conditions in East and West Pakistan, the struggle for proportional relationship between the two wings, the prorogation of the First Constituent Assembly, the calling of the Constituent Convention and ensuing court battles, the West Pakistan Act, and the Second Constituent Assembly. Part II is merely a copy of the Draft Constitution published at Karachi on January 7th, 1956.

In Part III, the author's extensive knowledge of contemporary constitutions and his perception of their elements of weakness and strength is evidenced in his eighteen Essays on the Draft Constitution. The following are their titles: Functions of a Federal Constitution, the Balance of Constitutional Powers, an Experiment with Mixed Institutions, the President and His Powers, the Vice-President and Presidential Elections, the Draft and Cabinet Responsibility, the Parliament of Pakistan, Unicameralism and its Consequences, the Need for a Second Chamber, the Government of the Units, the State of Emergency and Failure of Constitutional Machinery, Economic Equality between the Units, the Judiciary and Constitutional Interpretation, Fundamental Rights, the Islamic Provisions, Constitution and Minorities, and the Amending Process.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, including comments on the principal amendments passed in the final sessions of the Constituent Assembly, comprises the remaining section of the book.

The first section of the Bibliography contains seventeen references to extant documents, reports and proceedings. Forty-three publications are listed in the second section on general and Pakistan-related reference works.

Because of its information on the status of Christians under Pakistan rule, this book is imperative reading for all missionaries to this land, and especially those serving in educational institutions receiving government grants. Observers following the modern trends in Islam will find in this study of the Pakistan Constitution another example of the impress of Western governmental molds on an Islamic substructure. Students of Political Science will enjoy Professor Newman's insight and grasp of constitutional matters. If the reader compares the writer's criticisms and suggestions in the Essays, which were first published during the Constitutional debates, with the Final Constitution, he will discover that many of Dr. Newman's advisements were heeded; and, where not heeded, as in the case of no time limit between the President's taking office and the holding of elections, embarrassment has ensued as amply demonstrated by Pakistan's long delay in holding her first election.

Although, the Essays on the Constitutional Draft are valuable as they now stand, it is regrettable that the author did not revise his comments in the light of the Final Constitution. Some students may be irked, who after reading the Essays, wonder whether these appraisements are still valid, and who, in cross-checking, find themselves leafing through

unindexed pages trying to locate the Articles (and they do not always correspond) under discussion.

An index would have been helpful, especially for making quick comparisons on given subject matter between the Draft and Final Constitutions, but none is included.

The quality of workmanship in the printing of this book is not adequate. Misspellings occur frequently, one or two letters are upside down, bracketing of numbers is not consistent, certiorari was unitalicized in a series of Latin italicized legal terms, an undersized "n" is used along with a regular-sized "n" throughout the book, and a number of lines of type slope downwards, which is a depressing direction!

Murree Hills, West Pakistan

DON M. MCCURRY, JR.

Algeria. By Germaine Tillion, translated by Ronald Matthews, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1958, pp. 115.

Against the background of a scientific mission, from 1934 to 1940, to the Aurès mountains of Algeria, home of the Chaouia tribe of Berbers, and of more recent repeated visits to North Africa the author, Head of the Social Science Department of the Sorbonne, draws certain conclusions relative to the present struggle in that land.

The Algerian's plight today derives from his unfortunate position between archaic and modern civilization, or, to use a Kabyle metaphor, stranded in the midst of a ford, unable to proceed or withdraw. If colonialism was the great social crime of the 19th century, the corresponding crime of the 20th is pauperization. It does not necessarily follow, however, that colonialism is to blame for the poverty of the masses. There are other factors: rapid increase of population with improved health conditions; corresponding inability of authorities to provide adequate educational facilities; a time lag in the shift from an agricultural or nomad culture to an industrial civilization. Adaptation to new conditions is imperative. But the pauperized cannot adapt; his future continues on its downward grade to absolute destruction. That is, unless drastic measures effect a rapid social mutation. Such a mutation, according to the author, involves education, not of a select few, but of all the children, and provision of a trade and a job for all adults. Algerians must "catch up culturally, economically, and socially with the advanced countries." The author visualizes an advance in this direction only in a situation of interdependence with France. Especially indispensable is an "immediate conversion to an intensive industrial civilization."

Obviously an exhaustive sociological treatment of the theme is not feasible within the scope of a few pages. Yet it is refreshing to be reminded that behind the military and political aspects of the present struggle there are cultural, economic and humanitarian factors that should not be ignored. The theme merits elaboration. Also it would seem appropriate to develop more fully two factors: first, the place of the century-old phenomenon of Arab nationalism in the current crisis; secondly, the role of Islamic thinking in the social development of the Algerian. The population figures given on page 77 bear revision.

Hartford, Connecticut

ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Saudi Arabia. By K. S. Twitchell, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., third edition, 1958. pp. 281, illustrations, maps. Price \$ 5.00.

There are many things to be said in praise of this superb book. Its pictures are splendid. Two maps teach more than ten usually do. Its bibliography leaves nothing to be desired. It is the work not of an explorer or a politician but of an engineer and is almost a handbook on Arabia. Land elevations, water levels and population densities are all here. The author is a first class historian as well. He begins with the Arabia that was. His camera makes it vivid: its mountains and deserts and its great agricultural poverty which, with unconscious irony, he labels "agricultural wealth." However, he does his best to justify those words. Sent by the king to search for water, he did uncover far greater resources of that sort than had been previously suspected. The American Government has been helpful here. It sent an Agricultural Mission to survey the possibilities, and help in their utilization. The oil companies have done most of all. Eventually we are to see a better utilization of Arabia's meager resources.

As, in the West, the blessings of the split atom have vastly outrun our capacity to absorb and use them, so also in the East, Providence embodied in Mr. Twitchell and his kind has inundated Arabia with oil many times more than it knows how to use. Both Kuwait and Riyāḍ are selling about a million barrels a day; Iraq perhaps half that amount. Qatar is an active runner-up. Schools, roads and hospitals have resulted from this, and more, the relatively simple government of Saudi Arabia has been transformed. Its list of departments covers half a dozen pages.

With the strength that oil has put into their hands, the Saudi Arabs have moved out into international politics. They have an uncanny capacity for this kind of thing and the Arab bloc in the U.N. is an astonishingly effective group.

Mr. Twitchell gives a very moving picture of the efforts of the Arabs to keep up with this situation and move with the times. He shows a little nostalgia occasionally as he recalls the giants of the past, Charles R. Crane, the great deceased King ʿAbdul ʿAziz and his chief lieutenant ʿAbdullāh ibn-Julwī.

But the book's main interest is in the future. What can the new schools do to change the thoughts of men's minds? How much better food will Mr. Twitchell's newly discovered water provide? Almost every department that exists in Washington or London is now found in Riyāḍ. How much solidity will eventually grow into this impressive shell? The Arab has great gifts here and undoubtedly there will be much solid growth. Will the future give Arabia mines? Apparently not. Their one resource is oil. Everything must be built on that foundation.

What can oil do? The future may be bright with schools, and universities, and roads, a beautiful and growing prosperity, or it may show only a more and more dreadful pool of corruption and inefficiency. "The Knower is God." The first edition of this work, 1947, was reviewed in the July, 1947, issue of this Quarterly.

Penney Farms, Florida

PAUL W. HARRISON

Russland und der Messianismus des Orients. By Emanuel Sarkisyanz, Sendungsbewusstsein und politischer Chiliasmus des Orients, J. B. C. Mohr, Tübingen 1955, pp. xii plus 420. Price DM 29.60.

This is an interesting and exceptionally promising book. It demonstrates the need for, and to a certain extent the possibility of, a penetrating approach to cross-cultural affinities in thought complexes. It promises so much that it cannot possibly keep all its promises. Let it be stated at the outset, that by its wealth of material, its width of scope, and its daring attempt at synthetic comparison, combined with analysis of cross-cultural influences, this book deserves careful attention.

It expounds messianic or chiliastic tendencies in Russian tradition, and the way these have been affected by, and gone into the making of, modern Russian thought. This analysis occupies 196 out of the 406 pages of printed text; it is definitely the better half of the book. As compared with Walter Schubart's *Europa und die Seele des Ostens* (Zürich, 1939), it has a number of striking advantages. Better documented, it succeeds in making comprehensible quite a few characteristic elements in the modern Russian attitude that are constantly puzzling Western observers and leading them toward false interpretations of the Russian scene. Its main advantage is perhaps that, unlike Schubart, the author of the present work does not show the slightest inclination to be swept away by the contagious impact of religious, idealistic chiliasm. He thus draws a far less rosy, much less mystical, possibly more realistic pattern of certain basic elements that lie at the root of modern Russian thought. If there is a weak spot in all this, it is perhaps the author's interpretation of the so-called Asian tendencies in Russian thinking, which one would wish to be rather more critical, and his somewhat easy interpretation of the communist Russian way of life, according to Berdyaieff's term, as a distortion of the ideas of old.

Most of the second half of the book is devoted to Islamic, Javanese, Indian-Hindu, Burman-Buddhist and Lamaist chiliasms. The interest is rather unevenly distributed. Six chapters are devoted to Islam, one to Java, one to Hindu-India, three to Buddhist Burma, two to Lamaism. In connection with Buddhism hardly any mention is made of the present Buddhist revival in Ceylon, a phenomenon that is particularly intriguing for its chiliastic elements. China and Japan have not been mentioned. In connection with Java, the most important chiliastic movement, and a modern one at that, namely the Dār al-Islām movement, has been omitted.

Those topics that have been treated seem to have been considered from two different points of view simultaneously. One is the affinities between endogenous chiliastic tendencies in the cultures concerned on the one hand, and Russian chiliasm on the other. The other is the impact of, or response to, Russian ideas (chiliastic in the widest possible sense) among persons belonging to those cultures. By systematically distinguishing between these two issues, the author might have been more successful in achieving what he calls (p. 9) a synthetic approach. A responsible evaluation of incidental impacts of responses can only be made by setting out from a proper insight into fundamental affinities. In analysing Islam, where, to the present reviewer's mind, the author

is at his best, as far as the non-Russian thought patterns are concerned, one is inclined to feel that a term as "mahdism" occurs much more frequently than is in accordance with the normal conditions of Muslim existence in any part of the Muslim world. The reason may well be that the author has, rightly, felt that there is a good deal of chiliasm to be traced in many aspects of Muslim existence and that he has, less rightly, looked for overt appearances rather than for latent presences even though the latter are probably more important. In the absence of more penetrating investigations, a discussion within a framework as that of the present book runs the risk of concentrating itself on incidental affinities or apparent terminological coincidences; the more so if it is intermingled with a discussion of actual impacts and influences. No doubt, incidental coincidences have importance. But they are important as secondary, potentially promotive or frustrating factors to processes initiated by primary forces. Therefore, one should look for fundamental affinities first and foremost.

As regards such fundamental affinities, the author's position seems to raise two basic difficulties. One, not unlike that in the case of Rudolf Otto's *West-Östliche Mystik* (Gotha, 1926), is the inevitability of the need for limitation in an approach that is meant to be comprehensive and synthetic. The other is the fact that the comparative analysis of Russian and Asian chiliasms involves a third party, namely the author as a member of the third, viz. the Western post-Christian thought pattern. One wonders whether this third party status could not have been brought explicitly into the investigation. There seems to be no better way to analyze the fundamental affinities between Russian and Islamic chiliasms than by seeing these two as members of a family of three (or, if you like, four), to which also the Western pro-Christian (and Judaic) thought patterns belong. Affinities and differences in the chiliasms engendered by these interconnected thought patterns, will become clear the more readily against the background of the differences between basic elements that have gone into the making of these four patterns as such (both religious and philosophic elements).

Furthermore, there may be no better way of analyzing the affinities between Russian chiliasms and those belonging in the orbit of what Kraemer calls the naturalist religions (and religious philosophies), than by clearly distinguishing the latter, as being of another kind than the one to which both Russian and Islamic thought belong (on account of the fact each of these has one root in Greek rationalism).

*Institute of Social Studies,
The Hague.*

C. A. O. VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE

Vindicating a Vision: The Story of the American Mission in Egypt 1854-1954. By Earl E. Elder. Board of Foreign Missions, United Presbyterian Church of N. A. Philadelphia, 1958, pp. 335.

When the United Presbyterian Church joined with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., it brought into the union as its choice dower the achievements of a century of missions in the Valley of the Nile. If any work in the world may appropriately bear the name "American Mission" this one has earned that right. Other boards have viewed with

mingled envy and pride the steady growth of this mission and church, and have left the field almost unentered. The chain of institutions and the network of churches present a model of effective, successful contemporary mission work.

No one so well qualified to write the chronicle of this massive accomplishment as Dr. Elder could have been found. As one of the architects for forty of its years, and with borrowed recollections from his older colleagues, his life spans the entire period. With this equipment of understanding, he has undertaken a research task of huge proportions. Nothing large or small seems to have escaped him. The book-making is excellent, the style easy and effortless; good photographs are scattered throughout the pages, and though there are innumerable details of names and events, with no documentation, nor even an index, the pattern is woven with so sure a design and handicraft that the reader follows it without confusion.

Four sections of a quarter century each are divided into about forty short chapters, with some hundred sub-divisions; and in these four successive waves of geographical expansion and of mission-church development the history has written itself. To read the record is to be introduced to a complete study course in Principles and Practice of Protestant Missions, for everything is there. The tiny beginnings, the first converts, the early schools, medical work, work for women by women, Christian literature and publishing, evangelistic meetings, training of the ministry, youth work, Sunday Schools, itinerating by foot and rail and boat, all move on to more elaborated activities in better developed institutions, and an increasingly responsible Egyptian partnership in the church work.

The author disavows any dramatic elements in the splendid story, but the reader will scarcely agree. The ceaseless ferment of the nation, from Turkish Caliphate, to British protectorate, to native kingdom, and through revolution to independent republic, with all the intensity of a dominant Islam, and with a frightened Coptic hierarchy, and a fanatical nationalism, offered all the hazardous crises any Mission could ask. There have been vicissitudes, steady opposition, and some persecution — though the early missionaries were not reluctant about calling on the consuls or standing on the treaties — sagging support during the depression, the dislocations of two world wars actually fought there, surely enough to cause some falling off the appointed course. But there was no deviation from the original vision. The author describes it as the call to evangelize Africa through Egypt and an evangelical Egyptian Church.

This vision has indeed been vindicated. Not only has the church spread throughout the Nile Valley and the Delta, with its numerous presbyteries in the Synod, carrying its own financial weight, operating many of the lower grade schools unaided, with many growing tendrils in the villages adjacent to the churches in the centers. It has now undertaken work of relief and rehabilitation of needy groups; and has reached spiritual maturity in sending its own missionaries into the Sudan to evangelize the tribal peoples of that region.

It is a great story well told. If there are to be reprintings, perhaps

the author might be persuaded to carry some of the recitals of names of short-termers and other matters of special interest to the Board and mission members into the Board's Handbook of statistics, and in the space thus saved give us a little more of the story of the Egyptian Christians, leaders, and common members. We would like to know their background, their reasons for leaving the Coptic Church, their potentiality if they had remained in it, their contributions to public life at the various levels of neighborhood, town or even nation, and some appraisal of the place of dynamic creativity in the new Egypt of the new Evangelical Church. But just as it is, the book is an invaluable thesaurus of information, and a fascinatingly interesting view of a great vision. Let us hope Dr. Elder may now give us a book on the church he has done so much to bring to maturity.

New York and Hartford.

CHARLES IGLEHART

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The 1377/1958 Pilgrimage According to official estimates the total number of pilgrims from the various Muslim lands to perform the *Hajj* this year is 609,197, of whom approximately 400,000 came from Saudi Arabia. Countries and their representation are as follows :

Egypt	37,444	Indo-China	47
Syria	7,447	Hadhramaut	4,250
Iraq	5,897	Aden	215
Palestine	7,299	Nigeria	15,037
Jordan	3,105	Northwest Africa	291
Lebanon	331	Somaliland	634
Iran	10,321	Ethiopia	528
Afghanistan	2,524	Lagos	77
Turkey	11	Sierra Leone	126
Bukhara	102	Cyprus	27
Tunisia	743	Nationalist China	63
Algeria	334	Chinese People's Republic	33
Morocco	743	Portugal	7
Libya	3,266	South Africa	381
The Yemen	32,425	Persian Gulf :	
Pakistan	18,197	(Bahrain, Sharjah,	
India	17,604	Kuwait, Oman,	
Indonesia	6,921	Fujairah)	12,760
Malaya	4,313	America (U.S.?)	6
Siam	2,088	Japan	2
Philippines	2,958	(West) Germany	2
The Sudan	5,210	Canada	2
Senegal	2,431	Yugoslavia	87
West Africa	387	Bulgaria	1
Burma	183	Italy	1
Ceylon	21	Russia	20

After the ceremonies pilgrims departed by various means: 90,906 left by ship up to August 6th, 30,304 left by plane, and 51,179 by land.

Land Reform in Syria and in Iraq. The United Arab Republic has recently promulgated a new land law for Syria by which existing owners will be limited to 200 acres of irrigated land or 750 acres of land cultivated under rainfall. Each may select within these limits as he will and has also the option of 25 acres of irrigated land and one hun-

dred acres of dry farming land for his wife and each child up to three. Land in excess of these figures hitherto held by him will be confiscated by the State during the next five years and will be distributed to landless peasants. These beneficiaries will pay the price of the land over forty years plus ten per cent administrative expenses at one and a half per cent. The price is determined by multiplying by ten the average rent of the land. Owners will be compensated in State bonds over forty years at one and a half per cent interest. These rates of compensation are much lower than those originally established in 1953 in the Egyptian Land Law, though in recent legislation these rates have been reduced to three per cent over thirty years. Land holdings for the new beneficiaries in Syria will be in amounts of twenty acres of irrigated land or 75 acres of land cultivated under rainfall. Priority will be given to peasants already working on the land. It is anticipated that the legislation will apply to three and a half million acres and will affect 856 owners of irrigated land and 1914 owners of dry farms.

Similar steps are also announced by the new régime in Iraq.

Population Increase The Hugh Moore Fund, 51 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y., has published a 19-page tract entitled *The Population Bomb* in which the rapid rise in world population is related to an already inadequate food supply, widespread illiteracy, lack of adequate educational facilities, attitudes of religious groups and the general world situation. The pamphlet presents the problem without offering a solution. Perhaps at this stage of development it is sufficient to call attention to its seriousness from the humanitarian point of view, in the hope that appropriate measures may eventually be adopted. There is hardly a Muslim land to which this matter is not pertinent.

"There are more hungry people in the world today", the pamphlet states, "than when the foreign aid programs began. A 1957 report by the United States Department of Agriculture finds that population growth in the Far East is outstripping the rise in food production. Food *per capita* is less than pre-war".

Meanwhile "medical discoveries and widespread advances in sanitation have improved health and prolonged life spans and thus have lowered *death rates*. But *birth rates* have not gone down proportionately". This tendency inevitably has economic, social and political implications. While the pamphlet is written particularly for the American reader (copies may be procured free on request to the publisher), its theme is a matter of universal concern.

In fact, according to United Nations sources, the population of the world may rise to 4,000 million or more by 1980 and to 6,000 or 7,000 million by the end of the century. In six centuries, with the present rate of increase, the world population may be calculated to attain such a figure that there will be only one square meter for each person to occupy. What may happen in that remote period, of course, will cause little anxiety to the average man now. He may, however, be interested in the annual percentage rate of population increase in certain countries, according to the 1955 U.N. Demographic Yearbook: Egypt 1.81, Libya 1.39, Algeria 1.57, Tunisia 2.16, Turkey 2.2. Such statistics

should be related to population density. The same source gives the following density per square kilometer: Egypt 651 in the inhabited area, Morocco 21, Algeria 4, Iraq 11, Israel 82, Sudan 4, Iran 13, Lebanon 133, S. Arabia 4, Syria 20, Gaza strip 1,535.

Granted that figures do not always represent the full and accurate situation, what is common knowledge about food supply as it relates to mouths to be fed is sufficient to stimulate urgent and serious study of this condition.

Malaya More than passing notice should be accorded the appearance of the inaugural issue of the new monthly *Islamic World*, July 1958, which was published at Singapore during the first year of Malaya's Merkada. After an editorial the periodical presents the following chapter titles: The Muslims' Ordinance, 1957, of Singapore; Syed Jamaluddin of Asadabad, known as al-Afghani; Islamic Provisions of the Pakistani Constitution: a Historical Survey; Ahmad Shawqi, the Prince of Poets; A Review of Views; A Review of News. This number is agreeably illustrated with prominent Muslim personages of various Muslim lands, including their Majesties the King and Queen of the Federation of Malaya. It contains 24 pages and is printed by the Semenanjung Press Ltd., Singapore.

The editorial, worth reading in its entirety, expresses the spirit and objective of the new enterprise. It opens with a note of gratitude. "The Muslims in Malaya", the editor writes, "may count themselves favoured by Allah for the many gifts which have been given to them. They have a nice and fertile country, where nature is generous in the fruits it gives to man's labour. They have received the gift of Islam without having to fight for it and without having to sacrifice their sons and daughters to achieve and consolidate its spread. Recently they attained independence again without the necessity of any costly physical struggle. For all these gifts it is right that the Muslims in Malaya should give their thanks to Allah". The writer then urges the Malaysians, as Muslims, to cease to neglect "the glorious intellectual life of Islam." "Islam to many of us has been a mere matter of rituals and religious practices and the modern young Malay brought up on Western culture tends to look on Islam as something foreign to his daily life and habits to be taken up only on Fridays or on religious occasions. This is a highly dangerous attitude which must be removed. It can only be removed by the spread of Muslim education and culture in Malaya". He goes on to speak of the high hopes that may rightfully be placed in the Muslim College which "may well be the turning-point of the life of the Muslims in Malaya. In it we have an institution which asserts the high place which Muslim culture and learning hold and which seeks to disseminate this culture and learning through its graduates to the peoples of Malaya. It is right that every Muslim in Malaya should stand by and support the Muslim College. We are glad to note that already its influence has led to the recognition of the place of Muslim studies in the University of Malaya and we hope that in time the Muslim College will be the centre of the Islamic renaissance in Malaya".

Japan and Muslim nations. The Middle East is still unknown to the majority of people in Japan. However, Japan is realizing the abundant market possibilities in the Middle East and is beginning to make a serious study of them. Moreover, it seems that as a member of the Asian group she feels that she should have up-to-date information about these neighbors. For this reason most of the articles examined in the periodicals mentioned below were highly informative and dealt especially with the fields of economics and politics. Very little mention of religion is made and it would seem that the scholars have overlooked the serious role of religion in political affairs.

The periodical *Oriental Culture*, which is published by the Tokyo Gakkai (Society of Oriental Culture) in Tokyo University, contains no specific study of Islam. It concentrates solely on the historical nature of oriental culture.

Another periodical, *Middle East Studies* (Chuto-Kenyo), published by the students of a research society, Tokyo (Address: Chuto-Chosakai, No. 61-2 Gokon, Sanglin-Kaikan, Nagatacho, Chiyodaku, Tokyo), contains much scholarly information regarding the diplomatic and economic interests of Japan in the Muslim world. This journal seems to say that the Middle Eastern crisis cannot be solved by the two great representative powers, Russia and the West. However, Japan, with her similarities, because of racial, cultural and psychological background, feels that the Middle East will have more confidence in her than in the former. Japan has no ambitions to colonize these countries; she is neutral in her stand, favoring neither Arab lands nor Israel. Economically, the natural resources of the Middle East are very attractive, like Japan's. The age of exporting ready-made goods has passed, but right now what is needed in the Middle East is technical assistance. This means machinery but not finished products.

The journal, *Green Flag*, a bi-monthly magazine issued by the International Muslim Association, Institute of Islamic studies in Tokyo, Japan, under the direction of Mr. Ilyas T. Sakuma, gives light to those who are interested in the development of Islam in Japan. This magazine is partly in English and partly in Japanese. It informs us that Muslims in Japan are found in large cities like Tokyo and Kobe and are mainly Turks who migrated to Japan from Turkey during the First World War. It says that they are very few. The Japanese, in matters of religion, are very openminded, receptive and liberal. They exhibit a keen interest in Islam as a subject of scholarly inquiry but not as a religion. Because of this curiosity they have translated the Qur'ān from the English and German versions into Japanese. One writer feels that Japan is a virgin soil for the propagation of Islam. He senses that the Japanese interest in the Middle Eastern economic opportunities and her desire for friendship may also lead to some religious commitment.

Morocco. The *Revue de Presse* (46, rue Ben Cheneb, Algiers) for July, 1958, gives a brief exposition of some of the main points of recent Moroccan legislation concerning personal status. The new code makes the following provisions:

1. *Marriage contracts.* The contract is defined as a reciprocally binding contract established by the religious law between a man and a wo-

man, the object of which is the creation of a family under the protection of the husband and established on permanent foundations. It guarantees to the two contracting parties the fulfilment of their duties in tranquility, peace, love and respect. It should be noted that this definition is designed to assure due respect to the interests of the three parties concerned: husband, wife, children.

2. *Mutual consent and age limit.* The mutual consent of both parties to the contract is required. This should be expressed openly, in one single session, before two witnesses who fulfill the legal stipulations. The right of constraint is suppressed. A girl in her minority must have the consent of her matrimonial tutor. The minimum marriage age for young men is 18 and for girls 15.

3. *Restriction on polygamy.* The new code does not eliminate polygamy, though the reasons presented for the new code are not favorable to the traditional system. The argument centers in the interpretation of Surah iv: 3 which reads: "and if ye still fear that ye shall not act equitably, then one only". (Trans. Rodwell). Two clauses are introduced which either limit the exercise of the right of plural marriages or render it impossible: (a) under certain conditions the judge may refuse to permit a man to marry a woman, and this in spite of equivocal interpretations of the Quranic verse cited above which may appear to place full responsibility for decision on the man; (b) a clause prohibiting a second marriage, by which the woman has the right to impose as a condition of marriage that the husband agree not to marry another woman. If the husband is not loyal to his engagement, the wife has the right to ask for an annulment of the marriage. Unquestionably this clause will be the principal deterrent to polygamy.

4. *Repudiation and divorce.* The code does not do away with the traditional repudiation of the wife by the husband, but regulates its procedure. The triple formula of repudiation, pronounced consecutively by the husband, counts for only one. The new code thus returns to a reinterpretation of the Qur'an on this subject and by making this single repudiation revocable provides for a period of reflexion which may serve to foster greater family stability. Repudiation pronounced in a state of anger, or drunkenness or under constraint is invalid.

The foregoing abstracts, while admittedly inadequate to give a complete picture with all its details, do indicate that the direction is toward more harmonious and stable family life, greater justice and therefore opportunity for women, while at the same time preserving the essence of Quranic stipulations.

Jews in Tunisia. Out of a population of nearly four million the Republic of Tunisia has sixty to seventy thousand Jews. In this Arab land the latter in no way suffer discrimination, according to an article which appeared in the New York Times on July 20, 1958, and "the Government is sincere in its efforts to do everything it can to give the Jews an even break". The article states: "The conclusion was drawn by Dr. Maurice L. Perlzweig, head of the International Affairs Department of the World Jewish Congress, who has spent the past four days here conferring with leaders of the Jewish community and members of the Tunisian Government".

"Recently the Government announced that it would dissolve the ancient Jewish community organization here and call for the formation of a new committee that would henceforth devote itself purely to religious matters. The official change came three days ago and included the naming of a new Grand Rabbi, Meiss Cohen, chosen by the Government. ... Dr. Perlzweig explained today that there had been a Jewish community in this area for 2,000 years. Down through the ages the community organized schools, hospitals, charitable organizations as well as guiding religious matters. As is common in this part of the world, the Jewish community operated under official statutes emanating originally from the local beys and later from the authorities of the French protectorate".

"The Tunisian republic has applied these statutes and has appointed a body of Jewish leaders to draw up the constitution of the new committee. The committee will be limited to controlling public worship and ritual involving such matters as animal slaughter; religious education and philanthropy limited to religious needs, such as supplying Passover food to the needy".

"The committee will not be permitted to control general education or general social works such as hospitals... The Justice Minister also told Mr. Perlzweig that while the new committee would not be permitted to send representatives to international meetings, means should be found to name such representatives of Tunisian Jewry... Far from being repression, the new Tunisian regulations are an effort to integrate the Jewish community more completely into Tunisian life", Dr. Perlzweig said. He added that there were many Jews in Tunisian public life — including André Barouche, Secretary of State for Public Works. "Rather than being an attempt at legislating Jewish faith, the new Tunisian regulations are an attempt at freeing the Jews from ties too close to the Government". The choice of Grand Rabbi Cohen is popular in Jewish circles.

It is hoped that the actions taken as thus described may really foster amical relations between the divers elements within the Tunisian population. It is a matter of concern for all those who prize religious freedom. It is a matter of importance that peaceful conditions prevail as the new Republic strives to overcome its numerous economic and social problems in the period of its debut in the family of nations.

"Redemption" and Islam The profound question of Redemption in Islam is discussed by Professor Gotthard Jäschke of Münster, Westf., Germany, in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* (No. 4, 1957; also special reprint).

The Professor claims that Islam is a constant accusation to Christians, because it received its defective christology from Christian, albeit sectarian, sources. Islam even plays Jesus against the very need of redemption, and it always leads away from Him, never to Him. Eliminating the cross, Muhammad really eliminated redemption. It is true that Muhammad confessed himself to be a sinner (so the Qur'ān). but Tradition soon made him the intercessor for his people, thereby giving them a feeling of security. Christ's great missionary commission

includes also the world of Islam. But whoever will bring the true Christ to Muslims must practise compassion, friendliness, patience and tact.

The most important of all duties of missionaries to Muslims is to awaken in them a sense of their need of redemption. Medical missionaries have often observed that illness may produce such a sense of need, a feeling of sin and a desire to be free from sin. Many Muslims, having seen the dedicated service of doctors and nurses, have come as Nicodemus to inquire about the real Jesus. Great catastrophes, like the plight of the Arab refugees, which has bewildered Christians and Muslims alike, have also at times called forth such a sense of need. This need was especially manifested at the Bhamdoun Conference in the Lebanon in 1954. A Dutch observer tells how Christian and Muslim delegates together prayed for God's help for the refugees and also for themselves, in their inability to find a solution to this distressing problem. There is a continuing contact as a result of this conference, even an attempt to understand better the holy books of both religions, and that is certainly a forward step when we remember the Muslim teaching of the corruptness of other books.

But how may the way be found to a Muslim's heart? Eschatology may be a means. The righteousness of "works" may also possibly be used, as Islam recognizes the rôle of good works in man's approach to God. Islam also has its God-seekers. Therefore Muslims may be led to be willing to listen to the message of God as One who seeks men. The shepherd illustration in Ezekiel xxxiv. 12, followed by a similar message in St. Luke xix. 10, may serve to this end. But most of all there is the heart-warming ice-melting power of the words of Jesus: "Come unto me, all who labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest" (St. Matthew xi. 28). When the heart is exposed to these rays, they may silently but effectively operate to draw seekers from the 'Īsā of the Qur'ān to the Jesus of the Gospels.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS I

SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

I. GENERAL

- THE ALL-UNION CONFERENCE OF ORIENTALISTS IN TASHKENT. *Central Asian Review*, London. 1957, part 3. pp. 258-270. Gives the programme and some summaries of papers read at the meeting.
- ARCHAEOLOGY IN ASIA MINOR. Machteld J. Mellink. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton, January, 1958. pp. 91-104. A survey of excavations and finds in the Turkish area during 1956.
- BERBER STUDIES I. SHILHA. Joseph R. Applegate. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1957. pp. 324-327. Presents Bibliographical Notes on general and comparative studies, dictionaries, descriptive studies, collections of texts and textbooks, plus a selective bibliography.
- BIBLIOGRAPHIE. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz. 1957. pp. 236-254. Covers selected periodical articles from January, 1956, through April, 1957, dealing with Near Eastern archaeology.
- THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM. Kathleen M. Kenyon. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London. July-December, 1957. pp. 97-100. An illustrated account of the new center opened in March, 1957.
- CRONICA ARQUEOLÓGICA DE LA ESPAÑA MUSULMANA, xxxix. L. Torres Balba. *Al-Andalus*, Madrid. 1956, part 2. pp. 339-401. Contains six papers on various subjects such as the size and enlargement of mosques; artistic austerity in Christianity and in western Islam; etc.
- EXCAVATIONS at JERICHO, 1957. Kathleen M. Kenyon. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London. July-December, 1957. pp. 101-107. Describes work done on the Neolithic Tower. Illustrated.
- LES FOUILLES DE TELL EL-FAR'AH, PRÈS NAPLOUSE. R. de Vaux, O. P. *Revue Biblique*, Paris. Octobre, 1957. pp. 552-580. An illustrated report of the sixth (1955) expedition.
- MAHDIA ET SABRA-MANSOURIYA; nouveaux documents d'art fatimite d'Occident. S. M. Zbiss. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris. 1956. pp. 79-93. Describes excavations of two Fātimid palaces in Tunisia.
- MARIE ZIYADA. Mary F. Arnett. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. August-September, 1957. pp. 288-294. A biographical sketch of one of the outstanding Arab authors who was born in Nazareth but now lives in Egypt.
- PROLEGOMENA TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MIDDLE EASTERN GOVERNMENTS. Leonard Binder. *American Political Science Review*, Baltimore. September, 1957. pp. 651-668. Lists suggestive possibilities for future study.
- LES RELATIONS DE SEXE, D'ÂGE ET DE SANG. Karl-G. Prasse. *Acta Orientalia*, Leiden. Vol. 22, part 3-4. pp. 118-141. A study of terminology in a Berber dialect (Ayt-Sadden) of Central Morocco.
- SAHARA SAND IN MY EYES. Jinx and George Rodger. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. May, 1958. pp. 664-705. An adventurous trip over the Algerian Sahara.

WE FOUND A LOST CITY. James B. Pritchard. *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia. February 8, 1958. pp. 40-41; 87-90. An account of the 1956-1957 diggings at El Jib in Jordan proving, through inscriptions, that the deeply buried ruins were Joshua's Gibeon.

II. ARABIA

À PROPOS DU DOCUMENT NOUVEAU B.M. 25124. E. Cavaignac. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris. 1956, part 4. pp. 341-348. A Babylonian chronicle cites information about the North (Pala) route and the South (Luja) route around the desert section of Asia Minor.

ARABIA AND THE WEST. *Round Table*, London. September, 1957. pp. 323-328. Argues for Anglo-American unity for the sake of common interests and strategic considerations.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

AU BERCEAU DES PREMIÈRES RÉFORMES DÉMOCRATIQUES EN TUNISIE. A. Demeerseman. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1957, part 1. pp. 1-12. Analyses the political ideas of Khayr al-Din, a liberal 19th century Tunisian statesman.

AUS DER ENDZEIT VON BYZANZ: BÜRKLÜDISCHE MUSTAFA. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, München. 1957, part 2. pp. 397-404. Tells of a martyr for the co-existence of Christianity and Islam.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Winter, 1958. pp. 57-88. Covers October 1-December 31, 1957 and comments on the union of Egypt and Syria, a culmination of moves begun in 1916.

ÉTUDES GÉOGRAPHIQUES ET HISTORIQUES SUR LA PERSE. V. Minorsky. *Acta Orientalia*, Leiden. Vol. 22, part 3-4. pp. 105-117.

ISLAM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD. J. Spencer Trimingham. *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, London. January, 1958. pp. 30-35. A cultural renaissance is in progress in which Western ideas are being fused with a new, more adaptable interpretation of Islam.

LES KHAZARS: PROBLÈMES ET CONTROVERSES, S. Szyszman. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris. Octobre-Décembre, 1957. pp. 174-221. The Khazar State, situated on the Black Sea and buried in oblivion for centuries, has been attracting mounting interest since the 17th century because its history is intertwined with that of Persia and Armenia.

LA TURQUIE FACE À SON DESTIN. Alexandre Bennigsen. *Études*, Paris. Février, 1958. pp. 231-241. The renaissance of Islam in Turkey is not expected to cause a recession in the country's progress if it is united to the developments begun under Atatürk.

WHAT PRICE ARAB UNITY? *The Reporter*, New York. May 1, 1958. pp. 6-10. A collection of articles including "Faisal takes over Saudi Arabia" and "Can Nasser ransom himself from the Russians?"

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

IBN AL-HITI AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF JOSEPH AL-BASIR THE KURAITHE. Z. Ankori. *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, Manchester. 1957, part 1-2. pp. 71-81.

- UNE PREUVE DE L'EXISTENCE DE DIEU CHEZ GHAZZALI ET S. THOMAS. S. L. de Beaurecueil and G. C. Anawati. *Mélanges*, Cairo, 1956, part 3. pp. 207-258.
- LE RAMADAN AU CAIRE EN 1956. J. Jomier and J. Corbon. *Mélanges*, Cairo, 1956, part 3. pp. 1-74. An analysis of the various phases of the Fast.
- REGARDS SUR L'ÉTHIQUE DE IBN HAZIM AL-ANDALUSI. Odette Scemama. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis, 1957, part 1. pp. 13-20. A study of the thought of this 11th century philosopher on man, love and friendship.
- PERSIA AND THE HOLY GRAIL. Arthur Upham Pope. *Literary Review*, Teaneck, N. J. Autumn, 1957. pp. 57-71. The author believes that the source of the legend is the Takht-i Taqdis in the sacred city of Shīz in Azerbaijan.
- UNTERSUCHUNGE ZU GHĀZZLĪ'S KITĀB AT-TAUBE. Susanna Wilzer. *Der Islam*, Berlin. October, 1957. pp. 51-120.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

- THE ADVERTISING POTENTIALITIES IN THE MARKETING OF EGYPTIAN FARM PRODUCTS. S. E. Sherota. *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Juillet, 1957. pp. 63-69. Discusses possibilities in the fields of live-stock, fruits, grains, etc.
- AN ARAB MANOR ON THE COAST OF KENYA. J. S. Kirkman. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1957, part 3-4. pp. 143-150. Describes a 15th-16th century settlement near Mombasa.
- BEYOND THE VEIL. *Time*, New York. November 11, 1957. pp. 32-36. Although in part emancipated, women still meet considerable opposition in many Muslim countries.
- CAPPADOCIA: TURKEY'S COUNTRY OF CONES. *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. January, 1958. pp. 123-146. An essay in photographs by Marc Riboud of this section of Anatolia where Turkish farmers inhabit caves which served as refuges for early Christians and which sometimes contain fine Byzantine frescoes.
- EN ÉGYPTE: LE GOUVERNEMENT DEVANT LE PROBLÈME DÉMOGRAPHIQUE. *Orient*, Paris. 1957, part 3. pp. 106-119. Population growth can not be checked by voluntary birth control, even though proposed by the Government, unless plain instruction is given to the people.
- LAND TENURE IN THE HASHIMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN. Gabriel Baer. *Land Economics*, Madison, Wis. April, 1957. pp. 187-197. Compares findings printed in the Jordan State's Abstract for 1950 with similar conditions throughout the Middle East.
- MOROCCO BETWEEN TWO ERAS, *World Today*, London. September, 1957. pp. 389-401. Although the Nationalists gained independence unexpectedly soon, the prudence of the King and of top government officials has kept the new country fairly stable.
- THE NEW NOMADISM IN NORTH AFRICA. William H. Lewis. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1957. pp. 269-281. Describes the effects of the de-tribalization and industrialization of the natives on the rest of the population causing many people to choose to return to France.
- THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL RESULTS OF RUSSIAN IN-

- FLUENCE IN KIRGHIZIA, 1885-1917. *Central Asian Review*, London. 1957, part 3. pp. 235-246. An historical survey based on Russian sources.
- SOCIAL HISTORY OF AN EGYPTIAN FACTORY. William Morris Carson. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Autumn, 1957. pp. 361-370. Describes the effect on the living of the workers.
- TOOLS AND CRAFTS IN SOUTH CENTRAL PERSIA. P. H. T. Beckett. *Man*, London. October, 1957. pp. 145-148. An illustrated article showing the possible elimination of hand crafts because of the introduction of modern ways of living.
- THE TWO ARAB WORLDS. James Morris. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. March 2, 1958. pp. 9-10; 59-60. Points out the immense discrepancy between the life of the ordinary people and the Pashas.
- YOUNG-OLD LEBANON LIVES BY TRADE. Thomas J. Abercrombie. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. April, 1958. pp. 479-524. Tells of the tremendous material success in Lebanon.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

- ARABISME ET SOLIDARITÉ ORIENTALE. Pierre Rondot. *Études*, Paris. Février, 1958. pp. 214-220. Discusses the Syrian crisis of 1957 and its bearing on the Afro-Asian Conference at Cairo.
- CLOSE-UP OF THE FOREIGN AID DILEMMA. Peggy and Pierre Streit. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. April 13, 1958. pp. 7-9; 102-103. The United States must strive to promote social and political development in the countries helped as well as economic progress.
- LES ÉTATS-UNIS DEVANT L'ORIENT D'AUJOURD'HUI. Pierre Rondot. *Orient*, Paris. Juillet, 1957. pp. 31-80. A survey with comments of events from 1953 to the forming of the Baghdad Pact.
- FOREIGN AID IN AFRICA. Vernon McKay. *Current History*, New York. August, 1957. pp. 89-94. Emphasizing aid administration in Libya and Liberia, the article discusses the whole problem and suggests possible improvements.
- THE KINGDOM OF JORDAN: TO BE OR NOT TO BE. Benjamin Shwadran. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. September, 1957. pp. 270-288. Covers events since the departure of Glubb pasha.
- MIDDLE EAST CHALLENGE. Brown Taylor. *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Annapolis, Maryland. November 1957. pp. 1196-1199. Emphasizes the importance of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean to the Free World.
- PAN-ARABISM ON THE MARCH. *Commentary*, New York. April, 1958. pp. 277-289. Includes two articles — "Rival blocs in the Middle East" by Ray Alan and "Israel weighs the new challenge" by Nissim Rejwan of Baghdad.
- THE PERSECUTION OF THE NATIONAL-RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF THE MOSLEMS IN THE U.S.S.R. G. Feizulin. *Caucasian Review*, Munich. 1957, part 3. pp. 69-76. Based mainly on Soviet published sources, the author tells of the steady, organized campaign to destroy Islam.
- UNE RÉPUBLIQUE AFRICAINE INDÉPENDENTE. Aristide Daniel. *Orient*.

- Paris. 1957, part 3. pp. 97-105. High praise for the stability and progress of the Sudan under its able leaders.
- SINAI AND SUEZ — A RETROSPECT. Abba Eban. *Midstream*, New York. Winter, 1958. pp. 5-15. A consideration of the U.N.'s role in 1956 and now.
- SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY IN AZERBEIDZHAN. Mirza Bala. *Caucasian Review*, Munich. 1957, part 4. pp. 23-37. Describes such violent measures as massacres, suppression of political and intellectual leadership and the outlawing of Islam.
- L'U.R.S.S. ET LE MOYEN ORIENT. *Orient*, Paris. Juillet, 1957. pp. 15-30. Pictures the gathering momentum of Russia's Middle East policy.

VII. NORTH AND WEST AFRICA

- ALGERIA AND FRANCE. Claude Bourdet. *Africa South*, Cape Town. April-June, 1958. pp. 74-82. Surveys the whole situation which is discouraging from all aspects — military, political and economic.
- THE ALGERIAN TRAGEDY. Maurice Carr. *Midstream*, New York. Winter, 1958. pp. 70-84. Presents various possibilities for a peaceful and productive settlement.
- ALGÉRIE. *Esprit*, Paris. Mars, 1958. pp. 472-506. Articles on different phases of the problem by Alain Berger, Gérard Destanne de Bernis, Jacques Bergue and Michel Brugirier.
- BOURGUIBA. Chet Huntley. *New York Times Magazine*, New York. February 23, 1958. pp. 19-20; 72-73. Now that French subsidies amounting to \$ 100,000,000 a year have been withdrawn, the President of Tunisia, a "moderate revolutionary," urges his people to be patient, hard-working and tolerant.
- ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN LIBYA. Benjamin Higgins. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1957. pp. 319-323. The country does not attract foreign capital because it lacks mineral deposits and power sources.
- ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA. Thomas Hodgkin. *Africa South*, Cape Town. April-June, 1958. pp. 89-99. The author describes the spread of Islam from Senegal to Chad and from the Sahara to the Congo and he believes that with the withdrawal of the great colonial powers Islam will experience a really exuberant growth.
- NATIONALISMUS UND ISLAM. Fritz Sleppat. *Die Welt des Islams*, Munster (Westf). 1956, part 4. pp. 241-341. Deals with Egyptian nationalism from 1874 to 1908.
- SAHARA, 1958. A. du Passage. *Études*, Paris. Avril, 1958. pp. 67-77. A survey of the petroleum situation.
- TANGIER DIARY. Paul Bowles. *Africa South*, Cape Town. April-June, 1958. pp. 83-88. A picture of the "Puritan" aspects of the once gay, cosmopolitan city.
- "WE ARE ALL VICTIMS IN ALGERIA". Joseph Kraft. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. May 25, 1958. pp. 15-16; 79-82. Considers the troubles of the French army, the European settlers and the wretched Muslim natives.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

APPROACHING MUSLIMS. Jens Christensen. *HIS*, Chicago. March, 1958. pp. 14-18; 27-28. The Bishop advises preaching Christ instead of discussions of doctrine or the so-called silent witness.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CLERGY IN AZERBAIDZHAN. D. J. Hadji beyli. *Caucasian Review*, München. 1957, part 4. pp. 78-85. The article covers the years 1924-1938 and shows that persecution was increasingly violent in the late periods.

THE CHURCH AND ISLAM. R. C. Zaehner and Norman Daniel. *The Dublin Review*, London. Winter, 1958. pp. 271-312.

CHURCH UNION IN NORTH INDIA AND PAKISTAN. W. Machin. *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, London. January, 1958. pp. 51-54. An analysis of the proposed union to be consummated by 1961.

ISLAM UND CHRISTENTUM. A. Antweiler. *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Münster (Westf.) 1957, part 4. pp. 283-294.

LE PROTESTANTISME AU PROCHE-ORIENT. Jean-Michel Hornus. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Janvier-Mars, 1958. pp. 37-68. The first part of a history of missions of the American Board in Turkey and Armenia. Covers the years 1830-1860.

SUCHT AUCH EIN MUSLIM ERLÖSUNG. G. Jäschke. *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Münster (Westf.) 1957, part 4. pp. 294-301.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS II

SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

I. GENERAL

- THE ALHAMBRA PALACE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY. F. P. Bahrgelb. Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. London. 1956, pt. 3-4. pp. 192-258. The article is based on records of the Jewish Minister, Yūsuf ibn Naghrallāh, and deals in detail with the Fountain of Lions and its origin.
- ARABIC DIALECT STUDIES — ARABIAN PENINSULA. R. A. C. Goodison. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Spring, 1958. pp. 204-213. Consists of comments and a large bibliography.
- ARABIC SCIENCE IN THE WEST. D. M. Dunlop. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi. 1957. pp. 1-22 ff. Articles by authoritative contributors.
- EARLY SIGNED ISLAMIC GLASS. D. S. Rice. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1958, pt. 1-2. pp. 8-15. A detailed, illustrated description of four specimens.
- FIELD NOTES ON THE ARABIC LITERATURES OF THE WESTERN SUDAN. Muhammad Bello. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1958, pt. 1-2. pp. 53-57. Mr. W. E. N. Kensdale presents a listing of the works of Bello, who came to the throne of the Empire of Sokoto in 1817 and ruled until 1837.
- L'INSTITUT D'ÉGYPTÉ ET L'OEUVRE DE BONAPARTE jugés par deux historiens arabes contemporains. H. Pérès, *Arabica*, Paris. Mai, 1957. pp. 113-130. Excerpts from the writings of NiKūla al-Turk, a Syrian Christian, and of Al-Jabartī's history, which is source material for the period of the French occupation of Egypt.
- ISLAMIC STUDIES IN ITALY IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES. Alessandro Bausani. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi. 1957. pp. 185-199. Considers the work of Cusa, Schiaparelli, Caetani, etc.
- NOTES SUR LE FOLKLORE DE L'EAU. J. Quéméneur. *I.B.L.A.* Tunis. 1957, pt. 2. pp. 97-112. Describes propitiatory rites, wells and their relation to saints and demons, etc.
- LES PREMIERS MONASTÈRES INTERNATIONAUX SYRIENS. R. P. Olaf Hendriks. *L'Orient Syrien*, Paris. 1958, pt. 2. pp. 165-184. An historical article showing that Syriac culture existed side by side with Greek in the early monasteries.
- QANATS, KAREZ, AND FOGARAS. George B. Cressey. *The Geographical Review*, New York. January, 1958. pp. 27-44. An illustrated account of types of horizontal wells.
- REMINISCENCES OF GERTRUDE BELL. Douglas Carruthers. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1958. pp. 52-57. Describes a trip in Northern Arabia just before World War I.
- SLAVISCHES LEHNWÖRTER IN DER TÜRKISCHEN VOLKSSPRACHE. A. Tietze. *Oriens*, Leiden. 1957, pt. 1. pp. 1-47. A thorough investigation of the effect of various Slavic languages on Turkish speech.

II. ARABIA

- HEAVEN AND EARTH IN THE SOUTH ARABIAN INSCRIPTIONS. G. Ryckmans. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester, England. July, 1958. pp. 225-236.
- L'UNITÉ DE L'ALPHABET THAMOUDÉEN. A. Van Den Brandon. *Studia Islamica*. Paris. 1957. pp. 5-27. A discussion of some 200 inscriptions closely related to the history of Central and Southern Arabia.
- NEW MAP SERIES OF SAUDI ARABIA. *Geographical Review*, New York. January, 1958. pp. 114-115. Description and first sheet of this new geological series.
- PETITS ROYAUMES SUD-ARABES D'APRÈS LES AUTEURS CLASSIQUES. J. Ryckmans. *Le Muséon*, Louvain. 1957. pt. 1-2. pp. 75-96.

III. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

- AN-NAWBATHI. LES SECTES SHI'ITES. M. J. Mashkur. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris. Janvier-Mars, 1958. pp. 68-78. The first section of a study of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā, who lived in the 9th century and was a famous philosopher and theologian. Bibliography.
- GHAZALI ON "GRATITUDE TOWARDS GOD" AND ITS GREEK SOURCES. S. Van Den Bergh. *Studia Islamica*, Paris. May, 1957. pp. 77-98.
- IQBĀL: A REFORMER OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY, R. Harré. *The Hibbert Journal*, London. July, 1958. pp. 333-339. Develops the idea that the State of Pakistan, separating India's Muslims, comes from the philosophy of Iqbāl which was at variance from the Sufi tradition.
- IRANIAN INFLUENCE ON JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN APOCALYPTIC. P. Hadfield. *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, London. July, 1958. pp. 216-220. Compares extracts from the apocalyptic writers with others taken from the sacred books of the Persians.
- LA LITTÉRATURE D'IMAGINATION EN ARABE DU II^e/VIII^e au ve/xie SIÈCLES. M. F. Ghazi. *Arabica*, Paris. Mai, 1957. pp. 164-178. Comments on works included in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*.
- MAGIC IN AL-DAMIRI'S ḤAYĀT AL-ḤAYAWĀN. J. de Somogyi. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester, England. July, 1958. pp. 265-287. A study of the magical properties of various parts of animals' bodies as practiced by Muslims in the olden times.
- UN MAĞMŪ^c DAMASCÈNE DU VIII^e/XIII^e SIÈCLE. Georges Vajda. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris. 1957, pt. 2. pp. 135-146. A description of fourteen small manuscript works relating to Ḥadīth collected into one volume by Ahmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Ḥammād b. Maysara al Azdī al-Sāfi. MS 5032 of the Zaytūna of Tunis)
- LES SEPT DORMANTS D'EPHÈSE... EN ISLAM ET EN CHRÉTIENTÉ. Louis Massignon. *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris, 1957. pp. 1-11. Continues two earlier articles.
- SURVIVANCES DE L'ANCIEN ORIENT DANS L'ISLAM. C. E. Dubler. *Studia Islamica*, Paris. 1957, pp. 47-75. Suggestions for tracing material in this field.

IV. HISTORY OF ISLAM

- L'EXPANSION DE L'ISLAM EN AFRIQUE NOIRE. A. Rétif. *Études*, Paris. Juillet-Aout, 1958. pp. 49-58. To counter the present tremendous spread of Islam, African Christians must assume an apostolic role and, with energy and enthusiasm, lead their brothers to the Church.
- LE KHALIFE, PRÉSENCE SACRÉE. A. Abel. *Studia Islamica*, Paris. 1957. pp. 29-45. A discussion of the true nature of the Caliphate.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

- L'EAU ET LES HOMMES. J. C. Magnin and M. Callens. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1957, part 2. pp. 73-8. Tells of the historic Arab water policy in North Africa.
- EPIDEMIOLOGIE ET HYDRAULIQUE EN TUNISIE. C. Vermeil. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1957, pt. 2. pp. 137-148. Deals with water-borne bacteria, viruses, parasites and vectors.
- INDUSTRIAL EXPORTS: ISRAEL'S REQUIREMENTS FOR SELF-SUPPORT. Leonard G. Rosenberg. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Spring, 1958. pp. 153-165. An analysis of present conditions, such as loans and resources, and of possibilities for economic independence in ten years.
- MINING, QUARRYING AND PETROLEUM INDUSTRIES IN EGYPT. *L'Egypte Contemporain*, Le Caire Octobre, 1957. pp. 77-86. The industries have benefitted by the new laws of 1956, by the work of two specialized agencies, and by the "Ministry for Industry."
- RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF LABOR. David Finnie. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Spring, 1958. pp. 127-143. A study of the Middle East oil industry with analytical tables of employees.
- TRADITIONAL ISLAM IN THE CUSTOMS OF THE TURKIC PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA. A. Bennigson. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Spring, 1958. pp. 227-233. A report on a conference held in 1956 on the archeological and ethnological problems of Central Asia. Observations showed that Muslim society was practically untouched by forty years of Soviet rule in spite of great Russian severity.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

- DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENTS AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Spring, 1958. pp. 166-194. Covers January 1 to March 31, 1958, with special comment on Algeria, Lebanon, and Kuwait.
- ISLAM AND TURKISH NATIONALISM IN CYPRUS. C. F. Beckingham. *Die Welt des Islam*, Münster (Westf.) 1957, pt. 1-2. pp. 65-88. The clash between the two has been less intense than it was in Anatolia.
- LA MER ROUGE ET LES INTERÊTS FRANÇAIS. Paul Devinat. *Politique Etrangère*, Paris. 1957 pt. 3. pp. 311-324. Suggests that France would be best served by developing close ties with Ethiopia.
- SAHARA, CLÉ DE VOÛTE DE L'ENSEMBLE EURAFRICAIN FRANÇAIS. J. M. de Lattre. *Politique Etrangère*, Paris. 1957 pt. 4. pp. 345-399. Describes the efforts France should make to develop the desert resources and the organizations already existing for that purpose.

- SOVIET DIPLOMACY FROM STALIN TO SUEZ. James E. McSherry. *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Annapolis. December, 1957. pp. 1298-1307. Examines Russian policy during the Suez crisis and points out that strong Western action seems to elicit mild Soviet re-actions.
- SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA. Charles Cunningham. *Arab World*, London. October, 1957. pp. 7-14. Suggests that Spain might serve as a diplomatic link between the West and the Arab World.

VII. THE MIDDLE EAST

- GERMAN IDEAS ON IRAQ, 1937-1938. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Spring, 1958. pp. 195-204. Mr. D. C. Watt translates a report to the German Government by Fritz Grobke, German minister to Iraq.
- PERPLEXITÉS SUR ISRAËL. Paul Ricoeur. *Esprit*, Paris. Juin, 1958. pp. 868-876. Deals with Arab-Jewish difficulties — especially the refugee problem.
- THE PERSIAN GULF. *Arab World*, London. January, 1958. pp. 26-30. Discusses the relations between Great Britain and the Arab sheikhdoms.
- RECENT DISCOVERIES IN JORDAN, G. Lankester-Harding. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London. January-June, 1958. pp. 7-18. Covers diggings through September, 1956 and describes finds at Qumran, Petra, Amman and Azraq giving great credit to the cooperation of Point 4 officials.
- SELECTED MATERIAL ON IRAQ AND JORDAN. George Grassmuck. *American Political Science Review*, Baltimore. December, 1957. pp. 1067-1090. Bibliographic entries.
- WESTERN ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST. Elie Kedouri. *Commentary*, New York. January, 1958. pp. 16-22. The author believes that the leaders of Islam are hostile to the "Infidel" and that the brotherhood of Christianity is a naive illusion and prevents a realistic Western policy.
- THE YEMEN. Eric Macro. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1958. pp. 43-57. Reviews about 200 recent books and articles.

VIII. NORTH AFRICA AND EGYPT

- CAN NASSER TAKE IT ALL? James P. O'Donnell. *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia. August 3, 1958. pp. 26-27; 66-68. Although the state of the 18,000,000 fellahin, who hoped so much from Nasser's rise to power, is appalling, the author believes that loans and industrial equipment from West Germany may steady Egypt's economy.
- L'IDÉOLOGIE DE LA REVOLUTION ÉGYPTIENNE. Jean Vigneau. *Politique Étrangère*, Paris. 1957, pt. 4. pp. 445-462. The author holds that Egypt can not become a democracy as long as the Army is the main support of the ruler.
- THE NON-ARAB ETHNIC GROUPS OF LIBYA. Louis Dupree. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Winter, 1958. pp. 33-44. Summarizes the main characteristics of the Berbers, Tuareg, Tebou, etc.

- LES NORD-AFRICAINS EN FRANCE. *La Revue de l'Évangélisation*, Paris. November-December, 1957. Contains three articles by responsible writers on the condition of North Africans in France and also articles on Islam, Algeria, the missionary effort in Algeria and social uplift among North Africans in France.
- L'ASSOCIATION DES OULAMA RÉFORMISTES D'ALGÉRIE. Jacques Carrot. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 23-44. Covers the plan and activities of the organization from 1931 to the present.
- LES CHANCES DU COMMUNISME AU MAROC. Jean Recouls. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 24-34. The spiritual and physical hunger of the helpless masses is where Communism will flourish unless France and her allies can fill the void not only materially but spiritually.
- LES PORTES ANCIENNES DE MARRAKECH. Charles Caston Daverdun Allain. *Héspéris*, Paris. 1957, part 1-2. pp. 85-126. A thorough account based on ancient references and actual monuments and excavations. Illustrated.
- QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS SUR LA RÉVOLUTION ALGÉRIENNE ET LE COMMUNISME. Jean Glories. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 1-2. pp. 2-23. A well documented article showing why Communism is a tempting ideology for those Algerians who are eager to free the country from France.
- REPORT FROM MOROCCO. Hal Lehrman. *Midstream*, New York. Summer, 1958. pp. 5-20. Thoughts on Moroccan Jewry after a month's stay in the country emphasizing emigration restrictions and the lack of integration.
- SUR LA RÉFORME AGRAIRE ALGÉRIENNE. C. Maitre-Devallon. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 1. pp. 45-49. Argues against parcelling out arable lands into small farms, because the fellahin in most instances will not be able to extract the utmost from the soil.
- WHAT DRIVES THE NEW ARAB 'SALADIN'? Osgood Caruthers. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. August 24, 1958. pp. 10-11; 72-73. An analysis of Nasser's unswerving aim to unite the Arab World and to keep it free from Western influence.
- PROGRESS IN THE ARAB STATES — GAINS AND GOALS. *The Arab World*, New York. February, March, April, 1958. Whole issue. Accompanied by maps, charts, statistics, and many illustration, the periodical covers the subject in great detail. Bibliographies.